



Daily Report

Soviet Union

FBIS-SOV-90-172
Wednesday
5 September 1990

Daily Report Soviet Union

FBIS-SOV-90-172

CONTENTS

5 September 1990

NOTICE TO READERS: An * indicates material not disseminated in electronic form.

ARMS CONTROL & DISARMAMENT

Defense Ministry Denies Nuclear Tests Resumed [TASS]	1
Grinevskiy Cited on Resumption of Vienna Talks [PRAVDA 1 Sep]	1
Grinevskiy Interviewed [IZVESTIYA 1 Sep]	2

WORLDWIDE ISSUES

Asian-Pacific Conference Opens in Vladivostok	3
Shevardnadze Gives Address [TASS]	3
Biryukov Assesses Speech [TASS]	10
Working Groups Tackle Issues [TASS]	11
Moscow Radio Carries 'Observers Roundtable' 2 Sep	12
TASS Covers Ignatenko's 4 Sep Briefing	16
Resignation Rumors Denied	16
Gorbachev To Issue Decree	16
Gorbachev on Upcoming Summit	16
Military Advisers in Iraq	17
Details on Summit	17
Afansayev Attends Austrian Symposium on Socialism [Vienna DIE PRESSE 4 Sep]	17
Preparations for Paris Summit Get Under Way [Moscow Radio]	17
Deryabin Discusses Summit [PRAVDA 5 Sep]	18
Confucianism Conference Held in Moscow [IZVESTIYA 31 Aug]	18
Human Rights Conference Opens in Leningrad [Vilnius International]	19

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

United States & Canada

Media Report on Upcoming Bush-Gorbachev Summit	20
Gulf Crisis 'Impetus' of Talks [PRAVDA 5 Sep]	20
'Significance' Attached to Talks [IZVESTIYA 5 Sep]	21
Baker Lauds Soviet Cooperation [TASS]	21
Fitzwater Notes Agenda [TASS]	21
U.S. Senators Visit To Share Ideas, Discuss Ties	22
Delegation Arrives in Leningrad [TASS]	22
Dole Leads Group to Moscow [Moscow TV]	22
Lawmakers Meet With Lukyanov [TASS]	23
Yeltsin Receives Americans [TASS]	23
Group Meets With Gorbachev [TASS]	23
Aral Sea Project Established [TASS]	24
U.S. Collective Ownership Delegation Visits [IZVESTIYA 2 Sep]	24

China

Reports Continue on Shevardnadze's PRC Visit [IZVESTIYA 3 Sep]	24
Yazov Expected To Visit Chinese Counterpart [Tokyo KYODO]	25
PRC Asylum-Seeking Pilot's Return Explained [IZVESTIYA 1 Sep]	26
PRC Official Sees 'Good' Prospects in Relations [Moscow International]	26
PRC Science Academies Plan Joint Studies [TASS]	26
Joint Trade Exhibition Opens in Beijing [Moscow Radio]	27

Railroad To Open, Link Chinese City, Border [Moscow TV]	27
Chinese Labor Import Halted After 90 Expelled [Moscow International]	27
High-Altitude Experiments Conducted With China [TASS]	27

Northeast Asia

Shevardnadze Visits Japan as Part of Asian Tour	27
Considers Visit 'Landmark' [TASS]	27
Meets With Counterpart 5 Sep [TASS]	28
Issues Condemnation of Iraq [TASS]	28
Meets Former Foreign Minister [TASS]	28
Issues Joint Statement on Iraq [TASS]	29
Continues Talks on Security [TASS]	29
Meets Democratic Party Leader [TASS]	30
Achieves 'Common Understanding' [IZVESTIYA 5 Sep]	30
Japanese, Korean Coverage of Far East Tour	30
Japanese Reportage [cross-reference]	30
North Korean Coverage [cross-reference]	31
Trends in Soviet-Japanese Relations Viewed [IZVESTIYA 1 Sep]	31

Southeast Asia & Pacific

Officials Send Greetings to Vietnamese Leaders	33
Gorbachev Sends Message [Moscow Radio]	33
Yazov Greets Counterpart [KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 2 Sep]	33
Ceremony Marks Anniversary [PRAVDA 31 Aug]	33
Vietnamese Communist Party on Socialist Programs	34
Economy, Reforms Viewed [PRAVDA 31 Aug]	34
Politburo Member Interviewed [PRAVDA 4 Sep]	34
UN-Led Talks on Cambodia Settlement Planned	35
Shevardnadze Praises Efforts [TASS]	35
'Good Basis for Compromise' [Moscow International]	35
Ambassadorial Relations Established With Kiribati [TASS]	35
Papua New Guinea Parliamentarians Arrive [IZVESTIYA 2 Sep]	36

Near East & South Asia

Army Official: Arms Supplies to Iraq Suspended [Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH 31 Aug-2 Sep]	36
Iraq's 'Aziz Visits Moscow on Gulf Crisis	36
Continued Dialogue Stressed [TASS]	36
Foreign Minister Arrives 5 Sep [Moscow International]	36
Iraqi Envoy on 'Deteriorating' Gulf Situation [KOMMOLSKAYA PRAVDA 5 Sep]	36
Turkish Minister on Potential Mediation in Gulf [Moscow TV]	37
Israeli Minister To Visit U.S. on Arab Peace [Radio Peace and Progress]	38
Reports Continue on Events, Situation in Gulf	39
Arab League Meets in Cairo [IZVESTIYA 1 Sep]	39
Kuwaiti Paper Moves to Cairo [IZVESTIYA 3 Sep]	39
Evacuation From Iraq Complete [Moscow TV]	40
Commentaries Continue on Persian Gulf Crisis	40
Unstable Oil Market Noted [Moscow International]	40
Events Gain 'Destructive Force' [KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 31 Aug]	40
'Firmness, Restraint' Needed [Pogodin on Moscow International]	42
Iraq's Policies, Options Viewed [LITERATURNAYA GAZETA No 35]	43
Criticisms of Soviet Policy [Moscow International]	45
Soviets' Role in Iraq Questioned [Kozyakov on Moscow International]	45
Soviet Policy Defended [TRUD 28 Aug]	46
Saudi-U.S. Ties Reviewed [Radio Peace and Progress]	47
Correction of Interview With Belonogov on Gulf	48

Sub-Saharan Africa

Belonogov Meets With African Ambassadors [TASS]	49
Cape Verdian Foreign Minister Visits	49
Meets With Belonogov [TASS]	49
Delivers Message for Gorbachev [TASS]	49
South Africa's Botha Calls for Cooperation [SELSKAYA ZHIZN 31 Aug]	50
Commentary on RSA's Ruling Party Congress [Valentikov on Moscow International]	50
Commentary on South African Ceasefire [Moscow International]	50
New Ambassador Appointed to Guinea Bissau [TASS]	51

West Europe

Gorbachev Greets Italy's L'UNITA Festival [TASS]	51
Outcome of 'Industrial Espionage' Case in Italy [TASS]	51
Sitaryan Leads Delegation to Bonn on Germanys [TASS]	52
Council of Europe's Parliamentary Leader Visits	52
Meets With Kompletkov [TASS]	52
Visits With Lukyanov [TASS]	52
Landsbergis Visits Norwegian Foreign Minister [Vilnius Radio]	52

NATIONAL AFFAIRS

Supreme Soviet

Lukyanov Chairs Supreme Soviet Presidium Session [Moscow Radio]	54
Views Supreme Soviet Legislation [Moscow TV]	54

Political & Social

Gorbachev-Yeltsin 'Rapprochement' Seen as Likely [TASS]	54
TV Commentary Stresses Need for Union Treaty [Moscow TV]	55
Secretariat Focuses on 'Interethnic Relations' [SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA 30 Aug]	55
Letter, Interview With KGB Officer on Kalugin [TRUD 16 Aug]	57
Denisov Views Problems, Changes in Health Sector [Moscow TV]	61
CPSU Members Attend Political Dialogue Program [Moscow TV]	61
Party Members Visit Oblasts Before Plenum [PRAVDA 4 Sep]	62
End to 'Closed' Zones for Foreigners Sought [IZVESTIYA 28 Aug]	62
Commission Member Reveals Gulag Statistics [ARGUMENTY I FAKTY No 35]	64
Film Says Civilians Used as Nuclear 'Guinea Pigs' [TASS]	65
Navy Criticized for White Sea Pollution [IZVESTIYA 30 Aug]	66
Attitudes of Rights Conference Members Criticized [PRAVDA 3 Sep]	66
Mothers Demand Sons' Return From 'Hot Spots' [TASS]	66
Couple Resist Arrest, Cause Militia Strike [KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA 31 Aug]	67
'Reinforced Militia' Protect Moscow Taxi Depots [TASS]	67
Kustanay Inmates Strike for Better Conditions [KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA 31 Aug]	68
USSR To Use Computerized UN Crime Network [Moscow Radio]	68
Gosteleradio Conditions, Funding Examined [Moscow TV]	68
Journalists Criticize Newspaper's 'Political Line' [KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA 30 Aug]	68
MOSCOW NEWS Registered as Independent [Moscow TV]	69
1990 Central Committee Plenum Brochure Published [Moscow Radio]	69

Economic

Gorbachev Meets Republican Premiers on Economy [TASS]	69
Urges Promoting Economic Reforms [TASS]	69
Synopsis of Shatalin Group Economic Program [IZVESTIYA 5 Sep]	69
Shatalin Warns 'Draconian' Steps May Be Needed [Vienna DER STANDARD 4 Sep]	74

Reportage on Oil Production Levels, Shortages	75
Gorbachev Says Exports To Expand [Budapest TV]	75
Production Down 15 Million Tonnes [AFP]	75
Ufa Oil Refinery Complex Delayed [Moscow TV]	76
Kuybyshev Pipeline Explosion Viewed [Moscow TV]	76
Politburo's Stroyev Interviewed on Food Shortage [PRAVDA 31 Aug]	77
Kryuchkov Discusses Fishery Protection in Pacific [TRUD 25 Aug]	79
Workers Buy Out Butovo Nadezhda Enterprise [Moscow TV]	80
'Constructive Changes' in Transbaykal Coal Mining [Moscow TV]	80

Agricultural

'Alarming' Figures Published on Harvest Progress	81
Orders Only Half Fulfilled [SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA 1 Sep]	81
Gorbachev Expresses 'Alarm' [Moscow TV]	81
August Weather, Crop Production Data Reported	81
Mid-August Figures [SELSKAYA ZHIZN 25 Aug]	81
Late August Figures [SELSKAYA ZHIZN 31 Aug]	82
Rain Thwarts Special Measures To Gather Harvest [IZVESTIYA 31 Aug]	83
'Unprecedented' Bashkir Grain Crop in Jeopardy [Moscow TV]	84
Unloading Delays Blamed for Produce Shortages [Moscow TV]	84
Unshippable Kharkov Fruit Crop 'May Be Lost' [Moscow TV]	85
Grain Prices Promise Losses in Vladimir Oblast [Moscow TV]	85
Equipment Problems Hold Up Crop Harvesting Work [IZVESTIYA 4 Sep]	86

Military

Gorbachev Issues Decree on Army Political Organs [TASS]	86
Defense Aspects of Union Treaty Discussed [KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 4 Sep]	87
Urals Bacteriological Accident Suspected in 1979 [LITERATURNAYA GAZETA No 34]	87
Irkutsk Official Views Aircraft Export Problems [Moscow Radio]	90
Hunger Strike Staged Against Decline in Training [Kaliningrad Maritime Press Service]	91

REGIONAL AFFAIRS

Baltic Republics

Lithuania Begins Supreme Soviet Session 4 Sep	92
Landsbergis Addresses Council [Vilnius Radio]	92
Political 'Passions' Flare [Moscow TV]	93
Black Market Expansion Noted [TASS]	93
'Conditional' Sovereignty Seen [Moscow International]	93
Landsbergis Rejects New Union Agreement [Vilnius International]	94
Landsbergis Interviewed on Lithuanian Situation [Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP 31 Aug]	94
Lithuania Said To Have 'Dragged Its Feet' [SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA 4 Sep]	95
Lithuania Seeks Participation in CSCE Talks [Vilnius International]	96
Estonia Criticizes Katseliit Border Incident [Tallinn Radio]	96
Estonian Food Price Hike Proposals Reported [Moscow International]	96

RSFSR

Republic Supreme Soviet Session Gets Under Way	97
Presidium Examines Agenda [PRAVDA 1 Sep]	97
Second Session Resumes 4 Sep [Moscow Radio]	97
Committee Work To Continue [Moscow Radio]	97
RSFSR Party Congress Second Session Previewed	97
Polozkov Outlines Goals [KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 4 Sep]	97
Report on Agenda Item Clarified [IZVESTIYA 31 Aug]	99
Panels Revise 'Action Program' [SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA 1 Sep]	99
Yakovlev Wants 'New' Congress [Moscow TV]	99

Second Stage of Party Congress Opens 4 Sep	100
Gorbachev, Ryzhkov Attend [Moscow Radio]	100
Prokofyev Fears Power Vacuum [TASS]	100
Polozkov on 'Principal Goal' [TASS]	101
'Calm' Debates Encouraged [Moscow TV]	102
Opening Day Called 'Fruitful' [TASS]	102
Ligachev Supports Program [TASS]	102
Delegates Respond to Program [TASS]	103
Opposing Views Evident [TASS]	103
Party Congress Session Moves Into Second Day	104
Control Commission Vote Slated [TASS]	104
Commission Candidates Named [Moscow TV]	104
RSFSR Economic Reform Program Outlined [NEW TIMES No 35]	104
Economic Reform Program Draws Diverse Responses	106
Criticism 'Technical' in Nature [NEW TIMES No 35]	106
'Further Study' Required [TASS]	109
Voronin Predicts Wide Backing [TASS]	109
Committee To Combat Bread Shortage in Moscow [Moscow TV]	109
Yeltsin Addresses Theory of New Constitution [SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA 2 Sep]	110
SOYUZ Cites Yeltsin's Comments on Tour [No 33]	110
Yeltsin Discusses Far East Fishermen's Problems [Moscow Radio]	112
Deputy Uglanov Comments on Yeltsin's Tour [ARGUMENTY I FAKTY No 35]	113
Kalugin's Use of Radio Liberty in Election Viewed [KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 1 Sep]	115
Tatar ASSR Supreme Soviet Session Ends [Moscow Radio]	115
'Republic of Tatarstan' Sovereignty Detailed [PRAVDA 1 Sep]	115
'Nationalities Crisis' Reported in Tuva [Moscow TV]	116
Tyumen Oil, Gas Workers Threaten General Strike [KOMсомOLSKAYA PRAVDA 2 Sep]	116
Bashkiriya Supreme Soviet Debates Nuclear Plant [Moscow Radio]	117

Western Republics

Minsk Court Begins Trial of Hijacker Semenov [TASS]	117
Social Democratic Party Founded in Belorussia [TASS]	117
Agreements Signed With Kirghizia, Estonia [Minsk Radio]	117
Belorussian Military Exercises Set for 10-15 Sep [TASS]	118
Instances of Draft Dodging Noted in Novopolotsk [KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 30 Aug]	118
Afghan Vets Declare Hunger Strike in Pinsk [SOVETSKAYA BELORUSSIYA 27 Jul]	118
Belorussian Science, Industry Body Outlines Aims [IZVESTIYA 28 Aug]	118
Worldwide Belorussian 'Fraternity' Set Up [KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 30 Aug]	119
Belorussian Customs Seizes Pistols, Ammunition [Minsk Radio]	119
Correspondent Assails Railroad Mismanagement [Minsk Radio]	119
Moldavian Supreme Soviet Proceedings Outlined	119
Snegur Elected President [TASS]	119
Dniester To Be Discussed [TASS]	119
Gagauz Independence Censured [PRAVDA 22 Aug]	120
Gagauz Autonomy Reasons Cited [SELSKAYA ZHIZN 21 Aug]	120
Moldavia Votes Against Soviet Army Draft [TASS]	120
Ukrainian Supreme Soviet Scheduled for 1 Oct [Kiev International]	121
Ukrainian Communist Party Elects New Obkom Head [Moscow Radio]	121
Rukh Rally Demands Lenin Monument Be Torn Down [SELSKAYA ZHIZN 18 Aug]	121
Protest Picket Held at Ukrainian KGB Offices [TASS]	121
Ukrainian Official Urges End to AES Picket [Kiev Radio]	122
Pros, Cons of Independent Ukrainian Army Viewed [PRAVDA UKRAINY 15 Jul]	122
Ukrainian Prison Inmates on Strike 27 Aug [TASS]	123
Demands Met for Ternopol Greek Catholics [Moscow Radio]	123
AIDS Incidence Higher Than Data Shows [Kiev International]	124

Caucasus

State of Emergency Still in Effect for Armenia	124
KGB Official Interviewed [Moscow Radio]	124
Supreme Soviet Notes 'Calm' [Yerevan International]	125
Problems Still Persist [Moscow Radio]	125
Armenia, Belorussia Sign Bilateral Agreement [Yerevan Radio]	126
Yerevan-Moscow Flight Schedules Disrupted [IZVESTIYA 30 Aug]	126
Lukyanov Receives Azerbaijani President 30 Aug [Moscow Radio]	127
Armenian-Azerbaijan Border Conflict Continues	127
Villages Depopulated by Army [Yerevan Radio]	127
NKAO Region 'Strained' Again [Baku Radio]	128
Army Role in NKAO Stated [Yerevan International]	128
Election Campaign in Nagorno-Karabakh Suspended [Moscow Radio]	128
Azerbaijani Women's Delegation Visits Moscow	129
Yazov Receives Council [KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 29 Aug]	129
Nishanov Meets With Group [Moscow Radio]	129
Azerbaijan, Tajikistan Sign Cooperation Accord [Moscow Radio]	129
Mutalibov Raises Cultural Workers' Wages [TASS]	129
Yerevan-Stepanakert Flights Reduced [PRAVDA 3 Sep]	130
Political Situation in Georgia Summarized [TASS]	130
Georgian Parliament Elections Previewed [TASS]	131
New Political Group Established in Georgia [TASS]	131
Georgia Implements USSR Decree on Arms [ZARYA VOSTOKA 31 Jul]	131
Georgia Takes New Steps To Regain Order [ZARYA VOSTOKA 1 Aug]	132
Georgia, Azerbaijan Strengthen Cooperation Ties [ZARYA VOSTOKA 16 Aug]	133
New Georgian Paper Covers Wide Range of Themes [ZARYA VOSTOKA 17 Aug]	134

Central Asia

Weapons Handed In, Confiscated in Osh Oblast [Moscow Radio]	134
Kirghiz Land Bill Promotes Private Farms [TASS]	135
Tajik Supreme Soviet's Decisions Outlined [PRAVDA 1 Sep]	135
Tajik Komsomol First Secretary Dismissed [Dushanbe Radio]	135
Tajik SSR Replaces Women's Affairs Official [Dushanbe Radio]	135
Tajikistan Supreme Court Conducts Espionage Trial [TASS]	135
Reasons for Uzbek Gasoline Shortage Detailed [Moscow TV]	136
Illegal Drugs Cultivation Increasing in Uzbekistan [Moscow TV]	136

Defense Ministry Denies Nuclear Tests Resumed

LD0409185890 Moscow TASS in English 1849 GMT
4 Sep 90

[Text] Moscow September 4 TASS—Information on the resumption of nuclear tests at the Novaya Zemlya testing ground and the yield of a detonating device as well as other data are groundless, the IZVESTIYA newspaper writes today, referring to Defence Ministry sources.

The Defence Ministry made its clarification, because rumours are spreading in Oslo that the Soviet Union resumed underground nuclear tests at the Novaya Zemlya testing ground.

Rumours even name the "exact" date of an explosion—September 4 and the explosion's yield—85 kilotonnes.

"The right to take decisions on such tests belongs solely to the USSR Council of Ministers," the ministry's reply says.

"There has been no such decision to shift nuclear tests from the Semipalatinsk testing ground to Novaya Zemlya. The reply stresses that the question about transferring tests is unlogical.

There are two nuclear testing grounds in the country. If one is closed, the second will remain. The complete termination of nuclear tests (which is being constantly advocated by the Soviet Union) cannot be implemented unilaterally but on the basis of a bilateral agreement with the United States, after the conclusion of an appropriate treaty.

Dealing with other statements by Norwegian environmentalists, the newspaper writes that the last underground nuclear explosion at the Novaya Zemlya testing ground was detonated on December 4, 1988.

No adverse effect on the environment was registered. Soviet nuclear testers strictly observe ecological standards.

The Defence Ministry reported drafting a decision by the Soviet Government on the future order of tests at the Semipalatinsk and Novaya Zemlya proving grounds.

Grinevskiy Cited on Resumption of Vienna Talks

PM0509092490 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 1 Sep 90
First Edition p 4

[Report by correspondent I. Melnikov under the rubric "Military Detente for Europe": "An Important Milestone"]

[Text] Vienna, 31 Aug—The participants in the talks on conventional armed forces in Europe crossed the threshold of the Hofburg Palace just like diligent schoolchildren ready for the first day of the school year. Two figures were the epicenter of a lively crowd of diplomats and military experts. I refer to the short, lean figure of

Lothar de Maiziere, the GDR prime minister, and the corpulent and tall figure of Hans-Dietrich Genscher, the FRG foreign minister.

Moving on, I will say that the statements made by the guests from Berlin and Bonn were assessed here as a sign of sincere interest in the Vienna talks not just on the part of the governments of the two German states but also, in the long term, on the part of a united Germany. The statements were a direct link with the agreement recently reached in Arkhyz by M.S. Gorbachev and H. Kohl on restricting the numerical strength of the armed forces in the united Germany to a level of 370,000 men.

The Luxembourg representative delivered a statement on behalf of the group of NATO forces. It proposes that the treaty incorporate an article on subsequent talks, which would deal with the examination of further reductions in the numerical strength of all member countries' troops.

The Soviet representative also spoke. After the session, O. Grinevskiy, head of the USSR delegation, told PRAVDA's correspondent:

"All 23 delegations are aware of the proximity of the European summit and of the fact that a treaty on conventional armed forces in Europe must be submitted to it. The last step must be taken by joint efforts. Taking into account the NATO statements made in the past few days, we are withdrawing our previous proposal on establishing a collective personnel level of 700,000-750,000 men for each of the groups of states in Central Europe.

"With the unification of Germany, its inclusion in NATO, and the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Central Europe, the situation in this key region is changing radically. The question arises: Will the West not have 8,000 tanks here while the East only has 4,000 at best?

"What is the way out of the prevailing situation? The Soviet delegation has submitted a proposal on lowering the maximum collective level for each of the groups of states in Central Europe to a limit that would meet the corresponding realities of the seven Warsaw Pact countries in the region. This could be a level of 4,000-4,500 tanks, up to 6,000 armored vehicles, and 3,500 artillery systems. Such reductions could be synchronized with the timetable for withdrawing Soviet troops from GDR territory."

In the situation that is developing, the role of the sufficiency rule is growing, the head of the USSR delegation said. We are proceeding on the basis that a secure and stable situation in Europe can be reliably guaranteed where the level of sufficiency for one country is not less than 40 percent of the overall strength of the two groups of states.

Grinevskiy Interviewed

PM0509103390 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
1 Sep 90 Morning Edition p 4

[Interview with O. Grinevskiy, head of USSR delegation at Vienna conventional arms talks, by S. Tosunyan: "Vienna: Decisive Round"; first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] Vienna—After a brief recess the participants in the talks on conventional armed forces in Europe have returned to Vienna. L. de Maiziere, head of the GDR Government, and H.-D. Genscher, FRG foreign minister, addressed a plenary session 30 August. The NATO and Warsaw Pact countries have submitted a number of new proposals. At the request of our Vienna correspondent, O.A. Grinevskiy, head of the USSR delegation at the talks, now describes the tasks and problems of the decisive round.

"The unification of the two German states is not only the realization of the German people's legitimate rights and aspirations but also a victory for political realism. The main thing now is that this process should be the prologue to the building of a united all-European community based on interdependence and cooperation.

"Of course, the creation of a single German state opens the way to the solution of many age-old European problems. But at the same time a qualitatively new situation appears which must unfailingly be reflected in the treaty that is being elaborated. At the talks between M.S. Gorbachev and H. Kohl an accord was reached on limiting the size of the united Germany's armed forces to 370,000 men. The GDR prime minister and the FRG foreign minister, who addressed the plenary session, made a statement consonant with this accord. The task now is to give this statement a precise contractual-legal form. Luxembourg's representative, speaking on behalf of the NATO group at the first plenary session, made an interesting statement. The gist of it is that it is necessary to find the kind of solution which would not isolate the unification of Germany but would harmoniously incorporate restrictions on the size of its armed forces in the quantitative parameters of other states' efforts in this direction.

"Nor has the Soviet Union any objections to another NATO proposal—namely, to include in the treaty provisions on subsequent talks which in addition to other questions would discuss the reduction and limitation of the troop strengths of all the participating states at the

second stage of the talks. The proposal not to increase troop strengths also accords with the Soviet political line.

The unification of Germany, its inclusion in NATO, and the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Central Europe radically change the situation in this region which is so crucial to European security. A new situation is emerging. It turns out that the West, for example, will have 8,000 tanks in Central Europe while the East will have at most 4,000. Thus there will be a 2:1 imbalance in the West's favor.

"What is to be done in this situation? Pretend that nothing is happening and leave everything unchanged? Such an approach can hardly be called realistic policy. It would be fairer to lower the quantitative ceiling for each group of states in Central Europe to the level which the Warsaw Pact states there would actually have. This could be a level of 4,000-4,500 tanks, around 6,000 armored vehicles, and 3,500 artillery systems. The reduction to that level could be made to coincide with the quantities and schedule of the Soviet troop withdrawal from what is now GDR territory.

"As for the procedure for eliminating planes, helicopters, and artillery, that has already been virtually agreed. All that remains is the question of naval aircraft. The essence of the compromise on this complex question must be to take mutual account of the sides' concerns. In fact, the West claims that the omission of land-based naval aircraft would lead to the exclusion from the agreement of hundreds of aircraft and, possibly, to other planes' being switched to that category. But our concerns cannot be discounted: The other side has a large quantity of strike aircraft—deckborne—which have not been counted. Furthermore, these aircraft are based both on land and on ships. There is one way out—since naval forces were not included as a subject of the Vienna talks, the question of naval aircraft, including land-based, must be examined now. At the same time we are convinced that a satisfactory solution based on compromise can still be found. For the sake of a solution we propose the following compromise, for example: If NATO removes its proposal on the inclusion of naval aviation in the general level, we in turn would limit our Tu-22M aircraft outside the context of the Vienna talks on the basis of politically binding statements.

"A turning point is now approaching in the fate of the talks. The ideas that the participants have brought to Vienna after the recess will show whether we can complete work on the treaty in time for the Paris summit."

Asian-Pacific Conference Opens in Vladivostok

Shevardnadze Gives Address

LD0409093890 Moscow TASS in English 0844 GMT
4 Sep 90

[Text] Vladivostok September 4 TASS—Follows statement by Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze at the second international conference "The Asia-Pacific Region—Dialogue, Peace, Cooperation" which opened here today:

Mr. Chairman,

Ladies and Gentlemen,

Comrades,

I have the honorable mission to convey to this distinguished gathering of ranking politicians, businessmen, scholars and public personalities from Asia and the Pacific a message of greetings and wishes of success for your work from the president of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

I too wish to welcome you in the Golden Horn Bay area—a geographic point in Soviet territory that symbolizes the links binding us together. This city, where four years ago Mikhail Gorbachev put forward a set of initiatives intended for the countries of Asia and the Pacific, is playing host for the second time in a row to representatives of the world's largest geographic region. "Dialogue, peace and cooperation"—the meeting's noble motto—accurately describes the purpose of our discussions—namely, to exchange views on ways likely to transform this multidimensional yet single geographic region into an area that would be receptive to unifying political ideas.

The history of the world's continents has recorded some of those ideas. Even if they were couched in the language of philosophic and political concepts, they still served to narrow the differences between countries and peoples and safeguard their common traits from self-destruction. In the current, highly critical period, they have been used to build the foundation for a common home of the peoples.

I have in mind, of course, the idea of Europe and I have every reason to venture to say that there exists an Asian idea, the idea of Asia.

Although Oriental experts and scholars may disagree with me, I would still contend that the idea can be traced to great ancient philosophies, whose common heritage has been passed on to us as the indivisible philosophy of humanism. All of the world's faiths, born in the East and ranging from Christianity to Buddhism to Zoroastrianism, have focused on the human being and spiritually endowed the human race through the human being.

The idea of Asia has likewise found its expression in more recent philosophic theories and political concepts intended for the vast Asian and universal human entity,

among them the non-violence philosophy, the Panch Shila principles, the Bandung declaration and the Delhi declaration on the principles of a nuclear-free and non-violent world.

It is time that we fully flashed [as received] out the idea of Asia as is the case now with the idea of Europe.

It is not accidental that I am mentioning in one breath these two great continents, nor is it because of my personal whim, for history and modern times, politics and geography, economics and culture have placed them side by side. Europe and Asia, West and East have long reached out toward each other, overcoming the walls of division, self-imposed isolation of individual countries. The nightmares of colonial occupation and enslavement, regional conflicts and material inequality. The great silk way transcended wars and violence, the thin silk thread of history linked together time and space. What was possible in the past appears all the more attainable in the present, with slow-moving silk caravans giving way to optical cable technology and electronics that bring together in one single entity the formerly divided worlds.

In that sense, in addition to mentioning the symbolism of this meeting place, we should also underscore that it is unique in many respects.

For it is here, on the Pacific coast that we can embark on the road taking us through the Far East, Siberia, the European part of the Soviet Union, Eastern and Western Europe all the way to the Atlantic.

From atop Far Eastern hills, we can take a good measure of the vast Eurasian territory called the Soviet Union. If we accept the phrase coined by our political analyst and columnist who refer to that territory as the world of the worlds, we should equally accept the assumption that, instead of separating, it brings together other distant worlds. To quote the outstanding Russian philosopher Georgiy Fedotov, Russia must live politically in a complex world of the European and Asian peoples.

I may only add that Russia and the other components of the "world of the worlds" in Soviet Eurasia wish to promote in political terms the assertion of peace and goodneighbourly relations between them.

The Soviet Union's unique geographic location may turn out to be a priceless asset in developing a variety of integration links between Asia and Europe.

Whereas in the past we succeeded in building transatlantic communication systems, modern technologies may allow us to bring to fruition a trans-Eurasian communications network project.

Our transport infrastructure may likewise promote integration processes. The Soviet Union's highway and railroad grids together with its airline communication network would provide access to vast markets and zones of free, joint-venture entrepreneurship.

Nor should one overlook our outer space capability—a field in which the Soviet Union would be in a position to offer its space technology to the regional countries for use in a variety of peaceful economy sectors.

In short, we are suggesting consideration and evaluation of Soviet potential in the efforts to bring about integration of Asia and Europe.

The division of Asia and Europe was foreshadowed, in large measure, by the cold war, which split apart other continents in addition to Europe. Now that the cold war has come to an end we have every reason to approach the subject of a single Eurasian area of security and stability. In this connection, we wish to submit for your consideration the idea of a decade of rapprochement between the two continents.

Ten years separate the world from the advent of the third millennium. Whether it gets to a good start will depend, in large measure, on the turn the events may take in the world and Eurasia in these next ten years.

It is from this angle that I wish to dwell before this highly qualified and representative audience on our vision of the region's problems and prospects.

In doing so, we lay no claims to ultimate truth. To set correctly the benchmarks, we should maintain a continuous and an exceptionally broad-based exchange of views, engage in discussion, and compare our assessments and concepts to make sure that we have an accurate perception of the world and the trends shaping its development, and choose the right course of action.

I think that the first question to be put before us should be about the nature of world developments and the current phase of human civilization.

A commonly shared conclusion resulting from recent political assessments is that we are living in a rapidly changing world.

Yet, is it not true that the world saw things change 20 or 30 years ago? Or could it be that the pace of change is the only thing that is now different? I would think that there is more to it than just the pace and the scope of change.

Before anything else, we should get a clear idea of the nature of those current developments that are fundamentally new.

It would appear that we have now come to a point in the development of civilization which, to quote the great philosopher Vladimir Solovyev, marks the end of the growth of "the body of the human race." It may well be that for the first time ever our world has reached its natural limit. For the first time ever, we have realized that some of our vital resources are not infinite and that many forms of human activity need regulation on a global scale. Concurrently, another process—that of developing previously built physical infrastructures and organizing orderly life in them—has been gaining momentum.

In addition to opening vast perspectives, the time of rapid and radical change has posed formidable and complex problems.

Amid dynamic and often dramatic developments, the human race would have to establish a single axis of ethical coordinates and learn to subordinate its individual component parts and specific interests to the interests of the community of nations as a whole.

In politics, ethical self-determination begins with the recognition of the equality of all people and the rights of every individual, with the realization that the ultimate goal of any state should be promotion of people's well-being.

The ethical self-determination of society, the state or the human being manifests itself in the perception of violence and the use of force in relations among them.

The state must punish any assault on a person's life dignity or property.

On the other hand, the state cannot exist without the protection of law, or without abiding by the rules of international law, for the alternative would imply acting exclusively on one's own behalf, in other words, arbitrary rule and the domination of the weaker by the stronger.

The international community cannot allow the emergence of predator states or pirate regimes, for this would inevitably lead to the erosion of national law and order, and destabilize international relations.

The question before us is whether we should follow the uniform perceptions of what is good and evil, or whether these perceptions are cynically allowed to go by the board in a blow to the world's foundations.

I would be very much in place to ask this question now in view of the critical moment brought on by the crisis in the Persian Gulf.

The aggression against Kuwait is an aggression against the positive developments that have begun to take shape in international affairs as result of the policy of new thinking.

All of us are duty-bound to abide by the latest U.N. Security Council resolutions.

Even hypothetically, we should not acquiesce in any option that would fall short of restoring the sovereignty, territorial integrity and legitimate government of Kuwait—a country that will continue, as before to be a member of the United Nations.

For the first time in history, the international community has acted with so much unanimity and firmness in response to aggression and in seeking to eliminate its consequences. But it is essential to pursue our objective through non-military means and in a way that would remove the military presence of other countries.

Currently, many countries and politicians are busy trying to develop a formula for a peaceful resolution of the crisis. For instance, one of the proposals would have the Iraqi troops in Kuwait replaced by a U.N. peace-keeping force and the extraregional military presence by an inter-Arab troop contingent.

There are other proposals and plans, all of which are predicated on the need to have the Iraqi troops removed from Kuwait.

At this point in time, there is a growing awareness of yet another fact, namely, that a complex set of problems involving the Arab-Israeli conflict, the fate of the Palestinians and the tragedy in Lebanon awaits its resolution in the Middle East.

Indeed, we are faced with several highly complex interlocking problems that have many critical undertones. Aggravating the situation are the presence in the area of mass destruction weapons, the growing missile arsenals and the critically high level of armaments in many Middle East countries.

Quite a few extraregional states, including the great powers, have contributed to that situation. But that is all the more reason for them not to shy away from the search of ways that could reverse the routine sliding toward sharper confrontation and the accumulation of explosive political, military and social material in that part of the world.

Unless peace comes to the Middle East, we shall continue to pay a huge price for its wars.

After one more look at the situation, we still have come to the same conclusion that we have [to] step up pressure for an international conference on Middle East without deferring for a subsequent period the effort to bring about comprehensive settlement under the aegis of the United Nations.

Presumably, Israel's agreement to its convocation could exert a positive influence on the overall situation in the Middle East and on efforts to defuse the crisis in the Persian Gulf. For its part, the Soviet Union would not leave without response an Israeli move along these lines and might take a fresh look at the issue of Soviet-Israeli relations.

It is time that we acted now in the interests of the world's integrity. Our position is that priority should unquestionably be given to non-military means. A round [as received] Soviet-Chinese talks held a few days ago in Harbin and the discussions we had yesterday in Pyongyang have offered convincing proof that such an approach is shared by many states.

But the course at a peaceful settlement should in no way imply that the aggressor has nothing to fear, for it runs the risk of finding itself totally isolated from the rest of the world. We are convinced that the sanctions will produce their effect, compelling Iraq's leaders to heed the voice of reason.

We are faced with a highly critical emergency situation, which has made necessary an extraordinary action in the form of a special meeting between the Soviet and U.S. Presidents. Its results will soon be made public. There is no doubt that the meeting will mark a major milestone on the road toward resolving the crisis in the Persian Gulf.

A sense of unity the states of the world have shown over the past month is highly indicative of the ongoing changes, including in Asia and the Pacific. Favourable ground has emerged for promoting and encouraging integration tendencies, and stimulating the formation of joint political, economic, scientific, humanitarian and cultural entities that would embrace our continents.

The Soviet Union sees itself as an integral part of that single Euro-American-Asian belt. May I remind you that the Soviet Union is the only country that abuts on Europe, America and Asia.

For several decades, it remained isolated in many respects from the rest of the world. But the previously suspended traditional trade routes, spiritual, cultural and even human contacts are at long last being restored.

Next week will see a rail track linkup at Druzhba junction, on the border between Kazakhstan and China, the services of Baikal-Amur railway will be expanded.

In his address in Vladivostok four years ago, Mikhail Gorbachev proposed full and vigorous Soviet involvement in the life of the family of Asian nations.

We have not come to that family empty-handed, as first in Vladivostok and then in Krasnoyarsk we made several suggestions concerning possible ways of building regional peace and security as well as developing mutually beneficial cooperation with the regional states.

And we have followed words with deeds. We have ended our involvement in the Afghan war, although the painful memory of the death of thousands of our boys and the grief of thousands of families will continue to haunt us for a long time to come. We must never forget that the Afghan war has taken the toll of some 1,500,000 human lives. In tribute to their memory, we must pull out all stops in our efforts to promote an intra-Afghan settlement.

Our latest contacts with the USA Secretary of State James Baker showed that the positions of the USSR and the USA on the main problems of Afghan settlement are becoming closer, though slowly.

The normalization of Soviet-Chinese relations, accompanied by the dismantlement of the structure of military confrontation between the two countries, has marked a historic milestone. Just a few days ago my Chinese counterpart and I agreed in Harbin that talks to that effect would start in Moscow on 10 September.

The process of eliminating medium- and shorter-range nuclear missiles is close to completion, and the pullout of Soviet troops from Mongolia will be completed next year.

In 1991, Soviet armed forces stationed in the country's Asian part will be cut by 200,000 men. In the far east, 12 land divisions are slated for reduction, 11 air force regiments will be disbanded and the Pacific fleet will deactivate 16 warships, including 9 large surface vessels and 7 submarines.

We reaffirm our intention to work for the removal in the near future of Soviet military presence outside our national borders in Asia and, incidentally, in other parts of the world.

But I should also mention several things that have yet to be done—for instance, the case of unwarranted delay in action on the decisions adopted in the wake of [the] high-level statement giving back to Vladivostok an open-city status.

Asia and the Pacific are clearly going through a period of positive change. The countries that only recently treated each other with wariness have established normal relations befitting good neighbours - for instance, normalisation of relations between China on the one side and India, Laos and Mongolia on another, between the states of Indochina and Thailand and other Asian countries. Other milestone events include the reestablishment of relations between China and Saudi Arabia, and the establishment of relations between the United States and Mongolia. I am sure that Indo-Pakistani relations would improve too.

"The countries of Asia and the Pacific are actively involved in the efforts to promote the settlement of the Cambodian and other regional conflicts. They have made coordinated steps to ease tensions in South Asia inhabited by more than 1 billion people. China has made cuts in the armed forces, the Vietnamese troops have been pulled out of Cambodia and the United States has announced plans to reduce somewhat its military presence in Asia and the Pacific.

A package of basic accords for a comprehensive settlement in Cambodia has been put together. It is also gratifying to note that the five permanent members of the UN Security Council have taken a joint stand on the issue.

We are encouraged by statements from Hun Sen, Siha-nouk, the leaders of Vietnam and other countries, who have endorsed the framework agreement on the Cambodian settlement.

I wish to lay special emphasis on India's broad-based proposals for the creation of a nuclear weapon free and non-violent world, the Chinese-proposed concept of a new international political order, Mongolia's initiative to develop a mechanism for dialogue among Northeast

Asian countries, conclusion of the treaty on a nuclear-free zone in the South Pacific and the creation of similar zones in Southeast Asia, proposed by ASEAN and Indochina. Other steps going in the same direction include an anti-nuclear legislation enacted by New Zealand, Australia's initiatives covering confidence-building measures in the northeastern Pacific, Thailand's idea concerning the development in Southeast Asia of relations based on "positive coexistence," and Indonesia's proposals intended to ensure security in the South China Sea.

The Soviet Union supports P.D.R.K. initiatives designed to bring about peaceful settlement on the Korea peninsula. A non-aggression declaration by North and South Korea, measures to prevent an accidental outbreak of conflict, phased troops reductions in the two parts of Korea and establishment of nuclear-free zone in the peninsula stand a good chance of shaping an altogether different climate in the explosive part of the region. South Korea too has made several similar proposals. What is essential is that the identical elements in the proposals by the two countries are brought into "sync" and acted upon.

The ill-famed walls of division were built in Europe and elsewhere. Apart from the Berlin Wall, there is a wall in Korea, splitting the country apart. The Berlin Wall has now collapsed. Hopefully, the same will soon happen to the ferroconcrete barrier standing in the way of reunification of the Korean people.

The emerging improvement of the political climate in Asia and the Pacific has yet to take firm hold and become irreversible. Mistrust and even a sense of enmity still run high, nurtured by territorial disputes, ideological, ethnic and religious factors.

A critically high level of military confrontation, particularly in the Korean Peninsula, still prevails. There is continued deployment of nuclear missile systems together with a growing naval activity. The proliferation of nuclear and missile technology continues to cause concern.

Aware of the diversity of the region, its structural and situation differences that set it apart from other areas of the world, we are prepared to look for specifically "Asian methods" to find solution to the problems of security and cooperation.

We find it difficult to accept the position, which on account of excessive emphasis on the special nature of the situation in Asia and the Pacific would effectively impair consolidation in the region of the positive trends that have manifested themselves in world politics.

We feel that reliable security may well be ensured in conditions of Asian reality provided the weapon arsenals there are drastically reduced to a level of sufficiency and political means are efficiently applied.

But so far, according to available statistics, arms spending on several regional countries has continued to grow three to four times as fast as in Europe.

Do we really need to tread the same ground that has already been covered by others - in other words, stockpile arms, create military alliances and coalitions and build new military bases only to draw the conclusion that we could have done without it, while channeling resources toward the resolution of pressing socioeconomic problems. [no question mark as received]

We have a truly unique chance to do so now. The Cold War and the difficult period of confrontation of the Soviet-American-Chinese triangle have come to an end.

Soviet-American relations have seen unprecedented change. No longer viewing each other as enemies, we have taken several large-scale actions in promoting peace.

We should not expect only smooth sailing in the future as we may still run into some difficulty [words indistinct] changes.

It is hard even to imagine what turn the situation in the Persian Gulf might have taken had the current crisis occurred some three years ago. Presumably, we could have been on the brink of a world war and nuclear forces would have been placed on high combat alert.

Today, the crisis situation has taken on a different dimension, and the unity among the five permanent members of the Security Council makes one confident that the crisis will be overcome.

In our reflections on ways to proceed with the formation of regional negotiating institutions we have increasingly embraced the idea of a broad-based dialogue on regional problems.

In most other areas, except Asia and the Pacific, we have in operation universal forums dealing with some of the most pressing issues. They include the Conference on Security and Cooperation and a host of other mechanisms in Europe, the organization of American states in the Western hemisphere, and the Organization of African Unity in Africa. Of course, they may have some major shortcomings but no one would question the legitimacy of those institutions.

There is a growing interest in holding a pan-Asian forum, even if there is no agreement yet on its format and composition. For instance, a meeting of foreign ministers has been suggested to that end—an idea recently put forward by my Canadian and Australian counterparts.

Scholars and public personalities have been playing a major role in developing an infrastructure that could promote the idea of an Asian-Pacific forum. A series of conferences in Williamsburg, round-table panels in Kuala Lumpur, symposia in New Zealand and meetings in Vladivostok have indicated that the idea of a conference attended by official and other-level representatives

from Asian and Pacific countries to discuss regional problems stands a good chance of success and has gained added urgency.

We also clearly need to have broader and more regular parliamentary exchanges.

Given the existing difficulties in the way of an Asian Pacific conference, we might try a phased approach involving the use of various political and diplomatic means and methods.

We would not find it productive to set any preconditions for the holding of a pan-Asian conference, for it would be unwise to wait until all disputes and differences cease to exist.

Therefore, we are offering what we view as a more productive approach - namely, development of a multi-lateral negotiating mechanism concurrently with more vigorous action designed to settle conflicts, ease confrontation and friction, and intensify bilateral contacts.

Where should we start and how can we set in motion that negotiating mechanism?

For instance, we could give some thought to organizing a conference of a group of countries that have major military capabilities in the form of a working meeting of their foreign ministers that would be open to observer participation from other countries. The Soviet Union is prepared to hold appropriate consultations in order to prepare such a meeting, draft its agenda and a list of participants.

In the light of a commonly shared interest in ensuring the freedom and safety of navigation, we find it expedient to suggest creation of an international regional centre for the safety of ocean communications.

No single country, however powerful in terms of its naval powers [as received], can pose as the "only guarantor" of stability, the champion of the freedom and safety of sea lanes. What is more, pretending to play such a role would make many countries wary of its intentions.

We find a system of international guarantees to offer the best possible solution to the problem of sea and air traffic safety, including terrorism and piracy control.

Today, I wish to make one specific suggestion—namely, invite the foreign ministers from all the Asian countries prepared to accept my offer to come to Vladivostok some time in the fall of 1993.

This could be an open-ended meeting in terms of its membership and possible agenda.

I may suggest that in the course of that meeting we draft a joint document announcing a set of political principles shared by the meeting's participants.

That document would formalise the latest shifts, including abandonment of confrontational approaches, movement toward partnership, etc.

I think that, alongside many other changes, by the time the meeting is called to order, Vladivostok will have become a more open city.

Of course, in contacts among the ministers and on other levels we shall have another chance to discuss the meeting's format and underlying concept and come to [an] appropriate agreement.

Joint efforts intended to enhance the role of the United Nations and other international organizations in coping with common problems might promote further improvement of the situation in Asia and the Pacific.

In New York, where the foreign ministers from many Asian and Pacific countries will arrive within the next few days to attend the coming U.N. General Assembly session, they could hold a round of consultations on regional problems and discuss, among other things, subsequent stages in preparation for their full-scale meeting in 1993.

Incidentally, why can't we set as our next goal the holding of a pan-Asian summit meeting?

It is my understanding that the idea of launching a dialogue in New York on exclusively Asian and Pacific problems has produced a positive response—namely, from the foreign ministers of Japan and Indonesia.

As we cast about for the optimal options, we would be well-advised to enlist broader support from the existing institutions, reckon with subregional tendencies and factors and seek to combine in an efficient way the universal role of the United Nations and the functions of those institutions.

We continue to support holding a conference on the Indian Ocean. It would be a good idea to write into a draft agreement legally formalizing the goals contained in the 1971 UN declaration that proclaimed the Indian Ocean as a zone of peace a set of commitments to be assumed by the littoral states and the principal users of the Indian Ocean, among them the five permanent members of the Security Council.

The Soviet Union is prepared to launch a dialogue on military problems and confidence-building measures with all the Asian and Pacific countries. Just as in Europe, confidence-building measures stand a good chance of being applied in Asia.

I think that the subject matter in question will be appropriately highlighted in the course of the coming round of Soviet-Japanese talks and in our contacts with other countries.

Surely, it is not our intention to urge erosion of the existing politico-military structures. It is for individual countries to decide, on account of their national interests, how they should develop their security and other relationships with other states.

Along with politico-military concerns, the region has known quite a few problems involving economic development.

Lately, we have heard people predicting the onset of an "economic cold war" among Asia, Europe and America as well as in the Asia-Pacific region. We must not allow the emergence of a new North-South confrontational line, for we have just witnessed the appearance, for the first time ever, of the nascent integral world economy and international economic relations developing in accordance with the principles of equality, mutual benefit and reciprocal assistance. We have seen significant intensification in East-West economic cooperation, an increasingly universal drive for intergration and a heightened interest of states in improving and raising the efficiency of multilateral trade, economic, currency and financial mechanisms.

These tendencies have fully manifested themselves in a region, which has already begun to shape, in large measure, the world's "economic climate" and has been economic integration processes gain momentum. [sentence as received] We need to join our efforts so as to ensure a harmonious and democratic development of those processes, while eschewing the pitfalls inherent in any closed trade or economic organization that tends to reproduce economic friction, conflicts and at times open "trade wars."

We are aware that several international economic organizations, among them the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank and GATT, continue to approach with apprehension the Soviet Union's admission to their membership and it is our hope that such "past attitudes" will be left in the past.

We realize that a great deal will have to be accomplished before Soviet economic presence in Asia and the Pacific can reach a level that would correspond to Soviet economic potential. To that end we will have to develop an active "economic diplomacy" and new methods of economic involvement in Asia and the Pacific.

Likewise, we will have to enact domestic legislation that could boost market economy development in Soviet Asia and the Far-East as well as shape a favourable political and legal climate for investment.

Among the measures currently under review, we are considering adoption of a presidential decree on a programme of accelerated socio-economic development for Sakhalin Province.

"In this connection, I am happy to note a more intense interest shown by our constituent republics, autonomies and individual territories toward the development of direct links with the regional countries, with the Russian Federation taking the lead. Russia's Supreme Soviet already has passed a decision establishing free entrepreneurship zones in the Far East. The Uzbek SSR and the Kazakh SSR have been actively developing ties with

several Southeast Asian countries and China's individual provinces respectively.

Soviet representatives have taken active part in implementing a number of projects adopted by the Pacific Economic Cooperation Conference and are prepared to contribute to similar programs to be carried out in the framework of another intergovernmental forum - namely APEC.

Indeed, the Soviet Union's transition to market economy, broader access to Soviet markets and the introduction of mutually beneficial foreign economic methods are likely to lay the groundwork for Soviet economic involvement in the emerging economic architecture of Asia and the Pacific. Failure to take that factor into account would significantly narrow down the prospects before economic integration. Furthermore, it would imply underestimation of the huge prospects likely to emerge in the Soviet Far East and of an unlimited potential for profitable investment, extending well into the 21st century.

From members of Maritime Territory's leadership, I have heard many exciting things about plans involving joint venture business activity, intended to attract large-scale investment, technology and expertise.

The Soviet Union has made its subsequent development contingent on the broadest possible participation in world economy. Consequently, it intends to work for a partnership relationship and for making the economy of the Soviet Far East and Siberia a part and parcel of the emerging economic structures in Asia and the Pacific.

We intend to do our utmost to help promote a cooperative mechanism in the area of environmental protection. We may suggest inclusion in that mechanism of an environmental risk early warning system, an emergency ecological relief system, an environment fund, and cooperation in exchanging latest environmental protection technologies. In this way, as we see it, Asia and the Pacific could make a major contribution to global environmental protection efforts and to preparations for the UN conference on environment and development slated for 1992. It is essential in this respect to ensure coordination of all continental programs.

By way of a tentative suggestion, I wish to propose conclusion of a multilateral convention on the conservation of biological resources, or what would be even better, the drafting of a convention on environmental protection in the Pacific. In this day and age, human thought, knowledge, skills and information, rather than material resources, constitute the main asset of any given country. In other words, science and technology have moved to the forefront.

On the eve of the 21st century, scientific and technological progress, more than anything else tends to shape some of the major directions of society development and the future of the human race.

Accordingly, our future depends, in large measure, on further expansion of international scientific and technological partnership on a regional and global level.

Such partnership has particular significance for Asia and the Pacific as well as for their links with Europe, America and Africa. Even a cursory look at the geographic map would reveal that to be able to span limitless ocean space and vast land distances we would need advanced transport, television, and satellite communication systems. In that sense, the implementation of agreements on peaceful uses of outer space the Soviet Union recently signed with Australia and earlier on with several other countries could prove highly beneficial. Our cooperation to that end must have a clear Eurasian emphasis.

We propose consideration of a tropical cyclone early detection and warning international center. The Soviet Union has a wide network of meteorological hazard warning stations and would be prepared to transmit promptly the information received by those stations from satellites and other devices to a future international center.

People in the east say that a mountain peak can be reached by several roads. Of course, one can choose any road according to one's taste and ability to travel. But by pooling the efforts and resources, choosing the optimal road and helping each other, the peak can be reached faster and at lesser cost.

What we are suggesting is that we climb to the top together, taking guidance from such related notions as respect, trust and cooperation.

It is only by respecting one's partner and that partner's socio-political system and legitimate interests that we can create the atmosphere of trust.

Trust will make it possible to carry out political, military and economic measures capable of removing suspicion and introducing predictability, dependability and a broad measure of understanding in international relations.

From that point we can start moving straight ahead toward cooperation among equal partners that would promote mutually beneficial exchanges and ties in highly diverse areas.

May I now make an aside, which I find absolutely indispensable.

I am delivering these remarks at a highly critical moment in the life of my country. The developments and events over the past two years have put on the line the future of perestroika and of the Soviet Union. I wouldn't mention this grave subject were it not for its obvious international resonance. To some extent, at issue is the future of the process that has spread before the world previously unheard of prospects for building a new world order. Any slowing down or curtailment of that process would inevitably generate tendencies destructive for international stability.

We face huge and exceptionally complex tasks. The drive to reform the country's economy along market lines, build a new multinational state foundation and reinforce democratic methods in governing the country has run into formidable hurdles and generated conflicting currents. The natural aspiration of the peoples to independence has clearly clashed with a no less vital need to ensure effective sovereignty through broader and more meaningful ties in the framework of a new union entity. Similar developments also have occurred in Europe, where developed and powerful democracies have been trying to enhance their sovereignty in the framework of integrated, supranational structures.

It may appear that, given their highly developed economies and long-standing democratic traditions, France or Belgium should have nothing to worry about. And yet President Mitterand and Belgium's government keep hammering out at the idea of a European confederation and a confederate Europe's shared goals.

I am fully aware that invoking the example of other countries would not halt the alarming developments. They can and, I hope, will be stopped by stark realities, which may, at times, turn cruel and ruthless. Left on their own to face countless problems of daily survival, people will start casting about for and surely find relief in the realization that they have something to share with each other. But a point of no return may well be reached before that realization dawns upon them.

And still, I wish to use this opportunity to express my firm conviction that on the eve of the coming century, when the world is looking for some common ground to make a push toward the future, when next to new centers of economic might there emerge others that are destitute, it would be a grave risk to start pulling down one's house in the illusory hope of rapidly building on the rains something more stable and enduring.

Perestroika has shaken the very foundations of the dilapidated edifice and released it from the seemingly iron grip of its rotten carcass, offering instead new, modern and pliable supports anchored in independence, freedom and democracy that would enable every people to shape their destinies as they see fit. But to be truly stable, they need a good adhesive material to join them firmly together. Otherwise, they would start fracturing and may ultimately cave in.

It has long become a rule of life that while pursuing one's individual interests people think it wise to reckon with the interests of others and with what is seen as common interest.

That rule would seem to be all the more applicable in politics, which, as someone aptly put it, must not be tailored exclusively to national interests. And the same rule would have as much relevance in terms of domestic politics.

Perestroika has released a great deal of creative energy. But at times that energy may receive a negative charge,

thus causing a relapse into aggressive license. As a result, tyrants might move to the foreground with the ensuing irreparable damage to the cause of democracy and freedom.

In upholding democracy, we must employ democratic methods, unless we want freedom to turn into its antipode. Of late, it has often crossed my mind that our obsession with self-flagellation has developed into an inferiority complex impeding our progress.

But that complex is totally uncalled for. The Soviet Union has immense potential and vast prospects before it, something we should not lose sight of. That is why I have referred today to the role the Soviet Union could play in the integration and development of a single Eurasian entity of security and stability. The international community is aware of the unique location of our country that saddles the line dividing different worlds. It is my strong hope that as they start abandoning their unitarianism in favor of unity, the future free and sovereign nation-state identities making up a new union will come to realize that their unity may offer them a unique chance and prove beneficial to their prosperity.

Europe and Asia, west and east have started to move toward each other and they are bound to meet at some point unless a mound of ruins appears on the ground that still separates them. At this point in time, we are not alone in our drive to avoid destruction, as west and east, Europe and Asia, the world of humans as a whole stand prepared to give us a hand.

Biryukov Assesses Speech

*LD0509122590 Moscow TASS in English 1139 GMT
5 Sep 90*

["New Soviet Initiative for Asia—TASS Commentary"—TASS headline by TASS news Analyst Askold Biryukov]

[Text] Moscow September 5 TASS—Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze's proposal to convene a conference of the foreign ministers of the Asia-Pacific countries in Vladivostok in the autumn of 1993 has evoked great international interest, especially in the countries of the region.

Shevardnadze made the proposal at the second international conference "The Asia-Pacific Region: Dialogue, Peace and Cooperation", which opened in Vladivostok on Tuesday.

This interest is natural. The idea of the proposed meeting is ripe. Several states in the region have already advanced several variants for holding an Asia-Pacific Forum.

The Asia-Pacific countries have been working intensively to untie the tight knots of regional conflicts. They are taking specific steps to lower military confrontation, withdraw troops from foreign territories and scale down tension. The frameworks for a settlement in Cambodia

have already been elaborated with the participation of the five permanent members of the U.N. Security Council.

The prime ministers of North and South Korea met in Seoul, ending 45 years of confrontation. They are expected to continue talks in Pyongyang, which are meant ultimately to eliminate the potentially dangerous seat of tension on the Korean Peninsula, lower military confrontation and ensure the solution of all problems by peaceful means.

In these conditions, it seems relevant to switch to forging a multilateral negotiating mechanism to solving joint efforts the specific problems of the region. This mechanism needs to be set up alongside the intensification of efforts to settle regional conflicts, lower military confrontation and iron out the existing friction. The experience in the development of presses in Europe demonstrates the need for this kind of mechanism.

The beginning to this process in the Asia-Pacific Region could be set by a conference of a group of states with large military potentials. It is possible to hold a working meeting of the foreign ministers of these states open to observers from any country.

The conference of the foreign ministers of all Asian states could also be convened as an open forum in 1993 and [word indistinct] its preparation could be discussed at the forthcoming U.N. General Assembly session. Several countries, in turn, proposed holding a meeting of the foreign ministers of the respective states in New York in September.

It would see that the USSR's initiatives aimed at ensuring security and stability in the region, just as the bids by other states going in the same direction would have drawn an appropriate response in such a major Asia-Pacific country as Japan. However, unproductive attempts are being made in Tokyo to project these initiatives in a definite light, making them hostage to the territorial claims on the Soviet Union.

The influential Japanese MAINICHI newspaper writes in an editorial today: "We should view in a broader sense the proposals advanced in Shevardnadze's speech and vigorously make our own proposals, considering changes in the USSR's relations with the United States and China. In addition, the current historic processes in Europe cannot fail to affect the Asia-Pacific Region. Our task is to work to push ahead by joint efforts positive processes in the world".

Working Groups Tackle Issues

LD0509125790 Moscow TASS in English 1237 GMT
5 Sep 90

[By TASS special correspondents Alla Prozorova, Igor Peshkov, Oleg Polobko, and Mikhail Ivanov]

[Text] Vladivostok September 5 TASS—The second international conference "The Asia-Pacific Region: Dialogue, Peace and Cooperation" today split into working groups.

The first of these groups is addressing military-political situation in the region. Participants spoke about a Cambodian settlement, the situation on the Korean peninsula, efforts to set up nuclear-free zones in various parts of the region and prospects for the development of Soviet-Japanese relations.

Most speeches emphasised the importance of dismantling the legacy of the cold war in the Asia-Pacific region and turning it into a region of peace and stability.

The second group focused on the development of trade and economic cooperation in the region. A plan for the development of the Soviet Far East suggested by Professor Pyotr Baklanov, director of the Economic Research Institute of the Soviet Academy of Sciences' Far-Eastern Division, drew particular attention.

The plan prioritises regional development, the radical transformation of economic relations and structures and the modernisation of the existing production and infrastructure. According to Baklanov, the socio-economic development of the Soviet Far East will facilitate its incorporation into the economic sphere of the Asia-Pacific region.

Other participants in the conference also discussed, often critically, the integration of the Soviet Union and especially its Far-Eastern part in the Asia-Pacific region.

For instance, Japanese Professor Yoshiji Nagami, director of the International Relations Institute, noted that the Soviet Far East had been torn away from the Asia-Pacific region and from fully-fledged economic relations with countries of the region.

Gennadiy Voloshin, professor at the Oceanology Institute of the Soviet Academy of Sciences' Far-Eastern division, talked about efforts being taken in the USSR to rectify this situation. He said that in near future the USSR would be able to increase cooperation with these countries in the communications field.

Voloshin said the Soviet Union planned to launch a platform with communications facilities into a geostationary orbit in late 1994 or early 1995. This platform will be efficient enough to service all Asia-Pacific countries. He said any regional state could take part in building sub-satellite systems.

The third working group dealt with humanitarian and cultural cooperation in the region. Participants aired many specific proposals for cooperation in education, information exchange and in aid to the countries of the region to help preserve their cultural heritage.

A representative of South Korea proposed setting up a culture fundation for the pacific to subsidise projects in

education, culture and science. This proposal was supported by the majority of participants, who expressed readiness to raise this question at the governmental level.

Moscow Radio Carries 'Observers Roundtable' 2 Sep
LD0209205290 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
1130 GMT 2 Sep 90

["International Observers Roundtable" with Vitaliy Yakovlevich Chukseyev, member of the editorial board and main foreign editor of TASS; Vsvevolod Ivanovich Sovva, deputy head of the Information Directorate of the USSR Foreign Ministry; and Vladimir Georgiyevich Pasko, commentator for all-Union radio; all figures as heard]

[Text] [Pasko] Good day, comrades. For a month now, the attention of the world has been focused on the Persian Gulf. Iraq's seizure of Kuwait has created a new and extremely dangerous hotbed of tension. For a month now, politicians and diplomats have been holding intensive consultations, the main purpose of which is to find ways of forcing the aggressor to obey the UN Security Council's demand that it withdraw its forces to the positions which they occupied on 1 August. Husayn is behaving in a provocative manner. Last week he proclaimed that Kuwait is now part of Iraq and declared that he is not intending to discuss a withdrawal of Iraqi forces from Kuwait with anybody. This makes the impasse even worse. The likelihood of war is increasing. The West is continuing to concentrate its forces in the Persian Gulf. Iraq is building up its forces on the border with Saudi Arabia and mobilizing supporters in Arab countries.

[Chukseyev] Yes, you know, Vladimir Georgiyevich, it is pure good luck that serious incidents, incidents which could act as a kind of fuse, have not yet occurred in spite of the enormous concentration of foreign warships in the Gulf and men and equipment in Saudi Arabia. The scale of the concentration of forces in this region can be judged by the fact that the United States has concentrated there about 60,000 servicemen, supported by an armada of warships and carrier-borne aircraft. It is thought that there will soon be about 100,000 U.S. servicemen in the area. Even now, the numbers which are there make this the biggest U.S. military grouping to be sent abroad since the Vietnam war. By the end of September, the Pentagon will have spent \$2.5 billion on this operation. This is a sizeable sum, even by the standards of the U.S. budget. At the end of last week, President Bush called on U.S. allies to help out by paying \$1 billion toward the cost of deploying the U.S. forces in the Persian Gulf region. The FRG, Japan, Saudi Arabia, and Kuwait are being asked to pay 10 billion, and another figure as high as 25 billion dollars is also being mentioned, in order to provide some sort of compensation for those countries which are suffering from the imposition of the economic blockade around Iraq.

[Sovva] This is only the beginning of the dispute. Although it has been underway for a month already, it is

still only the beginning. However, even now it can be said with confidence that this is not a regional dispute. This is a major international conflict which will last a long time. Very soon, the Americans will have brought the strength of their military forces to 100,000 men. This is an army which is capable of sustaining combat operations over a lengthy period. The money which is being spent every day—\$28 million, if you convert the sum which you have already mentioned—is sufficient to fund a major military conflict.

We have heard today how Husayn is behaving. You spoke about this, Vladimir Georgiyevich. But a profound evaluation of the situation has still not been made, and there are a whole number of reasons for this. Just take a look at what our newspapers are reporting on any particular day. Iraq is prepared to take part in talks, one says. Another says that the situation is on the brink of war. So I take the question further. What is actually happening in the Near East?

[Pasko] Well, you know, the Soviet leadership believes that political ways of resolving the crisis in the Near East have not been exhausted. Collective approaches must be sought. Cooperation under UN auspices and active cooperation with the Arab countries must be continued. This last point was emphasized very strongly at Comrade Gorbachev's meeting with Egyptian Foreign Minister 'Abd-al-Majid and also in Comrade Shevardnadze's verbal message to the Arab foreign ministers on the eve of the extraordinary meeting of the Arab League foreign ministers in Cairo, which will discuss the situation in the Persian Gulf zone.

It is quite clear that it would be easier for the Arabs to find a mutually acceptable way out of the impasse than the Europeans or the Americans. After all, Iraq's armed action against Kuwait has struck at the interests of the Arab countries, first and foremost. It has led to a reinforcement of the foreign armed presence, the West's armed presence, in the region. It has relegated the Palestinian question to the background of world politics. It has led to a split in the Arab world and to increased military cooperation between the United States and Israel. In other words, I want to say that the Arab countries' objective interests require joint actions. Such actions could be based on UN Security Council resolutions.

However, it remains a fact that there is no unity among the Arabs on the question of Iraq's aggression against Kuwait. The Iraqi intervention was unequivocally condemned by only 12 countries at the Cairo summit on 10 August. Only 13 of the 21 members of the Arab League have arrived for the latest meeting in Cairo. Eight, including Iraq, have refused to take part in it.

Let us leave aside the reasons for the disagreement. Let us concern ourselves with fact. Does anything remain in reserve in order to prevent hostilities?

[Chukseyev] There are currently very many assessments of the situation in the Near East. And they vary. Some of

them are extremely gloomy and pessimistic. For example, the bestseller *Nostradamus and the Millennium* by American author and astrologer John Hogue, is very popular in the West at the moment. It analyses the predictions made by the French astrologer Michel de Notredame, or Nostradamus, back in the 16th century. Talking the other day about Nostradamus's predictions, John Hogue explained that, according to the medieval astrologer, a third world war would break out at the beginning of the 1990's, as a result of the actions of one of the all-powerful followers of the prophet Muhammad in starting a Holy War against America, Russia, and Europe. This Muslim leader, whom Nostradamus gave the code-name ('Malus') - meaning "evil" - would use the flames of Muslim fundamentalism to ignite a world war which would last three years and seven months. Ash would rain down from above, leaving the world covered.

This is not a new prophecy. The end of the world has been predicted many times and in many ways. If we move away from astrology and base ourselves on the firm ground of reality, we can see that, on the contrary, the reaction of the world community to the events in the Persian Gulf on the whole gives grounds for optimism, if only cautious optimism.

After all this is probably the first time that the UN has been so unanimous in adopting decisive measures to safeguard the world against extremist, dangerous actions and to prevent an escalation of the conflict. In this respect Canadian Prime Minister Mulroney was very right when he said that if two years ago anyone had said that in such a crisis the Soviet Union would condemn Iraq and the Security Council would unanimously support five resolutions, you would have thought him insane.

[Sovva] Absolutely right. And as we have been saying today, with regard to the decisions of the world body, clearly this is the first time it has ever achieved such a degree of unity or consensus, as they say, in its general approach. Television has been bringing us very many interesting programs, but I derived special pleasure from watching the live relay of the meeting of the Security Council from my office in the ministry. It was just like listening to the music of common sense, as one heard the speeches of the main delegates, both the permanent members and the temporary members.

Not all UN members have been won over to new political thinking. Nevertheless, the degree of the threat and an understanding of it prompted cautious pessimists to adopt this memorable resolution, which will go down in the history of the UN as No. 665.

[Pasko] There really is a reserve, I think, Vsevolod Ivanovich. It stems not just from the UN, I think, but also from the position which will ultimately be adopted by the United States. Washington is currently weighing up very carefully the pros and cons of using force against

Iraq. Let me just mention recent articles by Kissinger, the former secretary of state, and Brzezinski, the former national security adviser.

Though not rejecting the possibility of a political settlement of the crisis, the first is more for a military solution of the conflict. The second, on the contrary, is all for a careful approach to the problem. The United States, says Brzezinski, should be ready to fight alone to prevent Iraq invading Saudi Arabia. The United States should also maintain its support for the international community's demand for the liberation of the Kuwaiti nation. But Washington, the author stresses, should not be the only or even the main initiator of the efforts. It should keep an eye on the reaction of Western Europe and Japan and try to act accordingly.

This conclusion is based on a very sober understanding of the situation. Brzezinski points out that anti-U.S. feelings are running very high in the Arab world. U.S. activities will become the target of increasing Muslim fundamentalism, the author states, and this is not in U.S. interests. We should not allow the United States to be blackmailed or to be drawn into any kind of military actions that are against the interests of the United States, Brzezinski declares.

Which of these approaches in U.S. foreign policy will prevail? According to the reports of the U.S. press, the United States is not ready at the present moment to carry out open military actions. It will need approximately two more months to be ready. That means that diplomats have some breathing space. The UN economic sanctions will undoubtedly produce their effects on Saddam's behavior.

[Chukseyev] Economic sanctions, as practice shows, are a stick with two ends. It must be noted that many countries throughout the world have suffered from the UN economic blockade. According to expert calculations Australia, for instance, may lose \$1 billion a year just in wheat sales. Sri Lanka is threatened with the loss of \$100 million profit from the sale of tea to Iraq.

Hundreds of thousands of immigrant workers like the Egyptians, Filipinos, Pakistanis, Bangladeshis are fleeing the Gulf area. Now they have no work. Consequently, they cannot send money home and the Egyptian treasury will alone lose hundreds of millions of dollars deriving from this kind of remittance this year. I would point out here the losses for many countries because of the cut in oil supplies which were, actually, the reason why the conflict started. Some countries heavily relied on the supplies of oil from Kuwait: India—40 percent; Pakistan—70 percent; the Philippines—23 percent. Even the U.S. economy was thrown into a fever. Gasoline prices there rose by 10 percent.

I would like to dwell especially on the pluses and minuses of the conflict for the economy of our country. The reasonings of some Western newspapers are conducted in such a cynical tone, in my opinion. Reasonings like how profitable this all is to us as a result of gold and oil

price increases. So it appears by the calculations of American economists that we could gain an additional \$725 billion as a result of this. This is a substantial sum. However, one should not forget the other side of the coin. Those selfsame experts state that the Soviet military equipment at Saddam's disposal is worth about \$6 billion. This equipment has not yet been paid for. And it must be paid for at a rate of \$1 billion and, I stress, by deliveries of oil.

[Sovva] Unfortunately, none of the participants in our Round Table represent Soyuznefteeksport, the foreign trade organization responsible for oil exports, which is an authoritative and competent organization. Naturally, our economists are closely following the fluctuations in the oil price.

But, as you, Vitaliy Yakovlevich, said, the ill-intentioned reports served up in the foreign press about possible Soviet gains are completely unjustified illusions. This is obvious even to someone who is not an economist. Why? Because raw materials immediately become more expensive. The manufactured goods, produced from these raw materials, also become more expensive. As a result, despite obtaining some possible benefits from the current economic situation, we immediately suffer in other areas. Some time ago the same speakers who are present today discussed the question of possible Western assistance to our perestroika. We spoke about the meeting of the Seven. We said that the question was the subject of serious discussion by the EEC.

And I recall one figure from the reports of that time which appeared in the foreign press too: that Portugal, for example, could contribute to the common total 100 million, and when I read reports now on how much Portugal is losing on supplies to Iraq and from increased oil prices, then this, so to speak, possible amount of assistance from Portugal, in my estimation—and I stress I am no expert—becomes smaller. All of this, therefore, means minus effects for everyone, and that includes the Soviet Union.

[Pasko] I think it should be said that a one-sided approach of that kind—looking at things only from the economic viewpoint—strikes me as rather amateurish. Because the fact is that the crisis provoked by Iraq has created a mass of problems in a great variety of spheres. Literally, just on Thursday, Chief of Staff Lobov, of the joint Armed Forces of the Warsaw Pact states, delivered a very interesting report. He noted that at present, the U.S.' main beachhead, from which it controls Near East oil, is Western Europe. But as a result of the forthcoming unification of Germany and in the event of the Vienna talks working out successfully, the Americans could end up losing the juridical basis for their military presence in Europe. And so, in Lobov's view, the present crisis around Iraq and Kuwait opens up new opportunities for the United States. What does he have in mind? If, as they intend, the United States were to put 250,000 soldiers into Saudi Arabia, with NATO member Turkey next door, and then they move into Iraq too—and this option

likewise should not be wholly excluded—then an unbroken arc could be formed between NATO's eastern flank and Saudi Arabia, and this would radically alter the strategic balance in the region. But that is not all, in his view. Because it is a mere 200 km or so from Iraq to the borders of Georgia, Armenia, or Azerbaijan, and the United States would, therefore, acquire the possibility of exerting pressure on the development of events in that region. Finally, in Lobov's view, a build-up of U.S. troops in the region could threaten the collapse of the Vienna talks, because 250,000 men with aircraft, tanks, and weaponry would be added to NATO's right flank, and these are not accounted for at the talks in Vienna. And it is clear that in such a case the balance of forces is sharply altered. And he points out that in determining its line, the Soviet Union—it's line with respect to the crisis in the Persian Gulf area—all these considerations have to be taken into account.

So everything now happening in the Persian Gulf reminds us once again how interdependent the world is, how great is the responsibility of politicians for the decisions they make, for the fact is that Husayn's seizure of Iraq [as heard] has created problems for the whole world community, and not just economic problems. This also points to the fact that the quest for a way out of the situation that has come about must essentially proceed by means of collective efforts.

[Sovva] I feel that it has been precisely in the course of this major crisis that for the first time the world community has demonstrated common concern for people innocently caught up in the maelstrom of the conflict. According to what I have seen and read in reports, the most uncomfortable view of the crisis was from the windows of the Soviet Embassy in Kuwait, where this whole enormous military machine of aggression stretched for 20 km along the promenade. And, of course, we are very pleased that our compatriots, overcoming great obstacles, have mainly been brought out.

[Chukseyev] Yes, you know, a TASS correspondent has only just returned from Kuwait. I had a meeting with him a few days back and he gave me a detailed account of that operation. He was the last to leave there, and you know I was simply very pleased to hear how well coordinated and organized the evacuation of Soviet people was by the services of the Foreign Ministry, Aeroflot, all our departments which were involved...

[Sovva, interrupting] And the joint commission headed by a member of the government, a deputy premier. This was even remarked upon by practically the whole of the Western press. In particular, the British newspapers said that we were effectively the only ones who, precisely thanks to our diplomatic efforts, got our people out from that difficult area, that difficult situation. Other countries have unfortunately not so far managed to do this.

[Pasko] The situation is indeed taking a dramatic turn. By denying thousands of foreigners who for a variety of reasons happened to find themselves in Iraq the right to

leave the country, Saddam has effectively turned them into hostages. He justifies his decision in terms of a desire to avert a military strike against Iraq. But the United States and Britain have stated that these actions do not hamper them in selecting a solution. The problem of freeing the hostages became one of the main issues in Perez de Cuellar's talks with the Iraqi foreign minister.

It goes without saying that the seizure of hostages is a shameful act. It is worth noting that previously such seizures were perpetrated by one or another political group. Saddam has effectively raised this to the status of state policy, and there can be no justification for that. Moreover it simply exacerbates the situation.

The position in the Persian Gulf area remains extremely tense, and it is impossible to foretell how events here may develop. This absence of clarity requires restraint, but one has the feeling that pressure on Iraq will increase, including that from our country. This is indicated by, among other things, the mood in our parliament. The International Affairs Committee of the USSR Supreme Soviet has already raised with the government the question of withdrawing all Soviet specialists from Iraq.

But there are even tougher demands being heard from deputies, for the abrogation of the friendship and cooperation treaty with Iraq. And these demands are understandable, for we are dealing with violations of moral principles, the principles of humanism and the rules of international law. There are no differences in assessments of Iraq's actions between the legislative-executive authorities and society in general. Comrade Gorbachev again declared at his news conference on 31 August that the Soviet Union cannot accept the annexation of Kuwait.

Dramatic as the situation in the Persian Gulf zone may be, this should not reduce our attention to what is going on in other parts of the world. I am thinking first and foremost of Comrade Shevardnadze's trip to China, the DPRK, and Japan. It is completely obvious that the Persian Gulf crisis will be discussed in detail in Harbin, in Pyongyang, and in Tokyo, though it looks as though the main attention there will focus on problems of the Asia-Pacific region.

Our evaluations of the situation there will, as far as one can judge, be voiced in comrade's address at the international meeting in Vladivostok, but it is evident that here, too, events are developing in a dynamic fashion. It is sufficient merely to take a look at what is happening in our relations with China, and at the movement which has started in relations between North and South Korea, and in the matter of a Cambodian settlement.

[Sovva] Around this table we all have equal rights, and naturally each of us can voice his opinion on the matter in question, because the results will only come out almost a week after our program is broadcast. I would like to focus on the Japanese angle of this diplomatic

itinerary. Why? Because it strikes me that popular diplomacy on the broad front has worked well in the area of Soviet-Japanese relations, because...[changes thought] even when official figures from our country, from Russia, from Moscow, go there...[changes thought] but popular diplomacy is more attractive, because, when the Supreme Soviet gives instructions, international policy is conducted in accordance with the president, the government, and the Foreign Ministry [sentence as heard].

One of the most interesting proposals concerning this is that of how to get out of this state of what I would call standstill in Soviet-Japanese relations. Because we all realize that all the good plans concerning expanding trade between us, human exchanges, coastal relations—all of this could make rapid progress given the fundamental political decision at state level. But it would seem that things have not yet gone as far as such a decision. There will be a very serious exchange of opinions, and I agree with the Moscow Radio commentator Viktor Levin that naturally the groundwork will be laid for preparing the visit by our president to Japan at an agreed time.

[Chukseyev] Literally, just a few hours before this program of ours, our correspondents, TASS correspondents in Tokyo, sent back a review of the Japanese press on the subject of Comrade Shevardnadze's upcoming visit. Let me cite what has been said by several newspapers. YOMIURI reports that the Japanese Government has fixed its line for the latest Japanese-Soviet consultations beginning on 5 September at the level of the two countries' foreign ministers. In keeping with this line, Japan regards as its main task the achievement of positive advances on the problem of the Northern Territories. In addition, it envisages discussion of the main points on which it is hoped to reach understandings during USSR President Gorbachev's visit to Japan next spring, and, where specific steps are concerned, the signing of an agreement for doctors and other specialists to be sent to the USSR to give help to casualties of the accident at the Chernobyl atomic power station. So much for bilateral relations.

And now here is what might be called a global view of the situation in the Asia-Pacific region. ASAHI takes the view that the Gorbachev leadership's new thinking has put the final full-stop to the cold war between East and West, that a process of restructuring of the general world order is taking place. But in comparison with the meteoric pace of events in Europe, the process of overcoming confrontation in the Asia-Pacific region is making extremely slow progress, just as you were just saying, Vsevolod Ivanovich. And the paper goes on: At this time, when Soviet-Japanese relations are approaching a turning point, the USSR is striving to make use of our country—Japan, that is—as a kind of breach-point for creating a mechanism to ensure security in the region, and this signifies a global expansion of Soviet diplomacy under the new thinking.

[Pasko] But, Vitaliy Yakovlevich, it needs to be fully ascertained what is behind these things. One cannot fail to see that behind them Japan is continuing, as before, to make progress in relations with us contingent on concessions over the question of the so-called Northern Territories. But the two sides' positions on this are well-known and they are different, so the question arises of where to go from here. To keep everything as it was? It seems to me that this is neither in our interests nor in those of the Japanese themselves. We have long ago said that we are prepared to discuss any questions, including territorial ones, with Japan. But everything has to be discussed, and where possible, progress has to be made. Yes, we are trying to create a mechanism to ensure security in the region. But can it be that Japan does not also have an interest in this? Can it be that the Japanese do not have an interest in enhancing their own security? Why link the one with the other? The Japanese press lauds us for the new thinking. But the new thinking is first and foremost the recognition of realities. Where Soviet-Japanese relations are concerned, the realities are that both countries have long since reached the point of being ripe for broad cooperation, but if so, then we have to move forward, not mark time. In other words there is no shortage of both questions and matters for discussion here. The need for a Soviet-Japanese meeting, a summit meeting, has in my view long been ripe, and it will be a very good thing if such a discussion comes about.

Let me thank you for taking part in our meeting today. All the best.

TASS Covers Ignatenko's 4 Sep Briefing

Resignation Rumors Denied

LD0409153290 Moscow TASS in English 1520 GMT
4 Sep 90

[By TASS Correspondent Andrey Orlov]

[Text] Moscow September 4 TASS—Presidential spokesman Vitaly Ignatenko denied rumours that Soviet Prime Minister Nikolay Ryzhkov has tendered his resignation. "These are nothing more than rumours," Ignatenko told a briefing in Moscow today.

Today Ryzhkov together with Mikhail Gorbachev and members of the USSR Presidential Council attended the founding congress of the Russian Communist Party.

The spokesman confirmed that the programme for the transition to a market "would be presented to the USSR Supreme Soviet not by the prime minister but by the president."

Ignatenko explained that a decision on the country's transition to a market is political and therefore Gorbachev has agreed to take it on his shoulders.

"This does not mean that Ryzhkov is no longer trusted by the Soviet President," Ignatenko stressed. "The president believes that the Soviet Government can continue its work."

Asked if good relations between Gorbachev and Yeltsin had been restored, Ignatenko said: "Yes, of course."

In the past few days Boris Yeltsin has demanded on many occasions that Ryzhkov resign from the post of head of the Soviet Government "as an indisputable condition for the successful realisation of the programme for the transition to a market."

Of the two programmes discussed at the recent meeting of the Presidential and Federation Councils, "the president prefers the programme by academician Shatalin" to that of the government, Ignatenko admitted, adding that differences between the two programmes "are not irreconcilable".

The Presidential and Federation Council met today to discuss the transfer to a market. The meeting "will continue into the late evening."

Gorbachev To Issue Decree

LD0409154290 Moscow TASS in English 1512 GMT
4 Sep 90

[By TASS correspondent Andrey Orlov]

[Text] Moscow September 4 TASS—President Mikhail Gorbachev will soon issue a "very important" decree to provide social and legal protection to the military, Presidential Spokesman Vitaliy Ignatenko told a briefing here today.

"The president has been actively working on legal and social guarantees for the military over the past few days," Ignatenko said. "Presidential Council members have been instructed to work out measures to strengthen such protection."

Gorbachev on Upcoming Summit

LD0409143190 Moscow TASS in English 1406 GMT
4 Sep 90

[By TASS correspondent Andrey Orlov]

[Text] Moscow September 4 TASS—The Soviet president attaches great importance to the forthcoming meeting in Helsinki with U.S. President George Bush. Gorbachev sees it as a follow-up on contacts in Malta and Camp David, according to presidential spokesman Vitaliy Ignatenko, who read out the Soviet president's statement for the press.

The talks will focus on a wide range of international and bilateral issues. It is hard to overestimate such regular exchanges, Ignatenko said. They have a great constructive potential for Soviet-U.S. relations and for [word indistinct] politics, he stressed.

The spokesman confirmed that the Gulf crisis will be on the agenda. The Soviet president and leadership have their own information on the situation. This acute crisis is the subject of the president's constant contacts, especially with heads of state in Europe and the Arab region, with which there are now confidential relations, Ignatenko said.

The president is prepared to discuss in Helsinki [word indistinct] to intensify U.N. activity in easing tension in the Gulf. The USSR regards as positive all political efforts, including mediation, Ignatenko continued.

Military Advisers in Iraq

LD0409153890 Moscow TASS in English 1500 GMT
4 Sep 90

[By TASS correspondent Andrey Orlov]

[Text] Moscow September 4 TASS—The Gulf crisis will become one of the central topics at the forthcoming meeting between Presidents Mikhail Gorbachev and George Bush in Helsinki, presidential spokesman Vitaliy Ignatenko told a briefing here today.

Speaking about the possible arrival of King Husayn of Jordan in Moscow tomorrow and "the possible meeting between the Soviet president and a high-ranking Iraqi representative", Ignatenko said he could "neither confirm nor refute the rumours about the arrival of King Husayn and the high-ranking representative of the Iraqi regime."

The spokesman refused to say if the Gulf crisis would force the USSR to change its position as regards the restoration of diplomatic relations with Israel but promised to discuss the issue at the next briefing.

Asked by an Egyptian correspondent if "elements of trust" still existed between the Soviet and Iraqi leaderships, Ignatenko said that "all actions by Saddam Husayn lack logic", but the USSR maintains relations with all parties in the [word indistinct] including the Iraqi leadership, in a search for a political solution to the crisis.

As for the continued stay of Soviet military specialists in Iraq, it will depend on further developments in the region, Ignatenko replied.

Details on Summit

LD0409155190 Moscow TASS in English 1521 GMT
4 Sep 90

[By TASS correspondent Andrey Orlov]

[Text] Moscow September 4 TASS—Soviet presidential spokesman Vitaliy Ignatenko revealed at a briefing here today the details of the schedule of the Soviet president's meeting with U.S. President George Bush.

Gorbachev is expected to leave for Helsinki late on September 8. He is likely to meet Mr. Koivisto, he said.

"The entire next day will be devoted to a working meeting with U.S. President Bush. Taking part in the meeting, which will be very narrow, will be Eduard Shevardnadze.

"The meeting is expected to begin at 10:00 a.m. Helsinki time and end late at night. There may be a small break, at which we will be able to give an update to the press."

A news conference will be held on Sunday evening, after which Gorbachev will leave for the USSR.

Asked if the two presidents could extend their meeting, Ignatenko said there are no such plans.

Afanashev Attends Austrian Symposium on Socialism

AU0409150290 Vienna DIE PRESSE in German
4 Sep 90 p 2

["WB" report: "Stalinism Is Also a Burden for the Socialist International"]

[Text] Vienna—"Some of us, including me, talked too early and too generally of a renaissance of social democracy." This was stated yesterday by Willy Brandt, president of the Socialist International, at a symposium of the Dr. Karl Renner Institute in Vienna. Brandt pointed out that the "heavy, inherited burden of Stalinism" also affects social democracy in the West. At the same time a generation gap becomes evident, "even more so since the old Red symbols of the workers' movement are discredited by many member of the young generation."

Politicians from all East and Central European states, among them former CSFR Foreign Minister Jiri Hajek and Supreme Soviet Deputy Yuriy Afanasyev, attended the event which was entitled "The Revolution of Democracy Policy in Central and East Europe: Challenges for Social Democracy" and was held in the Austria Center.

Afanasyev painted a rather gloomy picture of the future of socialism. Now not only many ideas of the Russian October, but also the hope for the improvement of these ideas have to be given up. "The basic victory of democracy and the market economy is apparent." In Afanasyev's opinion, the social democratic movement should continue to concentrate on the second part of the formula of the social market economy: "Freedom for the strong, protection for the weak."

Referring to the present situation in the USSR, Afanasyev said that bureaucracy is the opponent of a radical change in the Soviet Union. The term "nomenklatura" means a category of people who were once permitted to legally exploit their fellow citizens and who remained forever at the public trough, he said.

Preparations for Paris Summit Get Under Way

LD0309223390 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
1800 GMT 3 Sep 90

[Text] The main task of the second session of the Paris summit preparatory committee, which began its work in

Vienna today, is to fill as much as possible with truly topical political issues the agenda and the final document of the forthcoming meeting of heads of states and governments of the Helsinki process member-countries due to start in Paris in November. Delegations from 33 European states, the United States and Canada are taking part in its work.

The Soviet delegation leader, Ambassador Deryabin, who is head of the Directorate for Security and Cooperation in Europe of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs, said in a conversation with a TASS correspondent, that he favors tackling straight away the editing of those chapters of the final document which are clear and, at the same time, conducting conceptual elaboration of those issues which have so far only been outlined.

Deryabin Discusses Summit

*PM0509153190 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
5 Sep 90 Second Edition p 4*

[Report on interview with Yu. Deryabin, head of USSR delegation at session of preparatory committee for all-European summit in Paris, by own correspondent I. Melnikov; date not given; published under the "Our Interviews" rubric: "Mandate for Paris"]

[Text] Vienna—"We did not simply resume work today, work entered a qualitatively new, decisive stage. Whereas two months ago it was necessary to search around for approaches to the problems which are being submitted to the Paris summit, now diplomats are busy translating the accords achieved in July into the language of concise formulas."

Thus it was that Yuriy Deryabin, head of the USSR delegation, began his answer to my question on the tasks of the second session of the preparatory committee for the all-European summit conference. These are the talks of the group of 23 countries, covering the problem of conventional armed forces, and the talks of the group of 35 countries, intended to draw up confidence-building measures.

[Melnikov] What form will the subsequent work of the preparatory committee for all-European conference number two take?

"In the first place," the USSR delegation head said, "it is necessary to preserve the spirit of constructiveness and search for a balance of interests which characterized our work in July. Second, it is necessary to retain the high pace of work. We hope that the first results can be reported to the foreign ministers of the member countries at their meeting in New York on 1-2 October. Subsequently they could discuss and approve a draft final document when they meet in Vienna on the eve of the all-European summit."

Confucianism Conference Held in Moscow

*PM0509113990 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
31 Aug 90 Morning Edition p 5*

[Report by V. Ganshin: "Teaching That Unites"]

[Text] The 12th international scientific conference "The Modern World and Confucianism and the Study of T'oegye's Ideas" was held on 27-28 August in Moscow.

The conference organizers—the USSR Academy of Sciences Economics Division and the International Society for the Ideas of T'oegye (the Korean philosopher Yi T'oegye [Yi Hwang]—a follower of Confucius who lived in the 16th century) not only set themselves the narrow task of widening knowledge in the sphere of neo-Confucianism and studying its influence on the situation in the Asia-Pacific region but were also pursuing the goal of contributing to the deepening of mutual understanding between peoples.

Speaking at the conference opening ceremony, M.L. Titarenko, director of the USSR Academy of Sciences Far East Institute, noted that correctly identifying and understanding the present-day significance of the ideas of Confucius and his followers means finding the key to an understanding of the economic and spiritual progress made by Asia-Pacific region countries in the second half of the 20th century, and understanding what spiritual assets they are taking with them into the next century.

There is special interest in Confucius' homeland at the moment in the teaching of their great ancestor. Chinese social scientists are emphasizing the humanitarian, constructive elements of Confucianism, seeking to combine the ancient thinker's doctrines with the course of modern transformations in the country and the building of a "specifically Chinese socialism."

The thesis of the cementing role of the state in the consolidation of the nation, in particular, is obviously attractive. In conditions where a powerful ideological offensive is under way in China against "bourgeois liberalization," Confucianism, with its patriotic principles, is a major trump card in the polemics against opponents of the official line.

The followers of Confucius believe that only a healthy, moral nation with deep historical and cultural roots can survive and develop. A national ideology that cements the members of society and a moral, ethical, and spiritual unity fused together with the achievements that other peoples have made can have surprising results in economic development.

Scholars from the USSR, South Korea, the PRC, the United States, Japan, and Taiwan who addressed the conference voiced the hope that its work will serve practical purposes: better mutual understanding and the desire to know one another better and to build relations in the Asia-Pacific region on the basis of the principles of respect and amicability.

Human Rights Conference Opens in Leningrad

*LD0309164990 Vilnius International Service
in Lithuanian 0000 GMT 3 Sep 90*

[Report by Juozas Kavolis]

[Text] The international human rights' conference Vilnius-Leningrad 1990, cosponsored by Lithuania's Sajudis and Poland's Solidarity opened in Leningrad yesterday.

The forum site has been changed from Vilnius to Leningrad, since many of the foreign guests were denied entrance visas to Lithuania, with the onset of the diplomatic blockade, by the Soviet Union.

Over 600 delegates from 16 countries are attending the human rights conference. Approximately 1,000 delegates are representing the Soviet Union.

Delegates, at the conference Vilnius 1990, were greeted by the leader of the Lithuanian parliament, Vytautas Landsbergis.

The basic theme of his greeting, human rights, centered around the individual's right to be a citizen. However, according to Vytautas Landsbergis, the experience of this year's 23 August event, Europe's Way, has demonstrated that citizens of Lithuania can extend their hand to other nations, even while encircled by tanks and soldiers.

The international human rights conference, Vilnius-Leningrad 1990, will continue for four days.

United States & Canada

Media Report on Upcoming Bush-Gorbachev Summit

Gulf Crisis 'Impetus' of Talks

PM0409221790 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
5 Sep 90 First Edition p 1

[Article by Anatoliy Karpychev: "Looking Ahead"]

[Text] Regrettable though it is to admit, we can be late with the news.... In particular, I am thinking of the meeting between M.S. Gorbachev and George Bush in Helsinki Sunday 9 September. Once again, as in the past, when events of this kind are being prepared we have to use Western sources: statements by U.S. presidential Press Secretary Marlin Fitzwater and the opinion of Western politicians—since ours are still keeping their own counsel.

Little was revealed by the official announcement: The leaders of the two powers will meet to discuss international and bilateral issues. Which ones exactly?

Marlin Fitzwater told journalists that within the framework of preparations for Helsinki his President had met with close advisers, and that in the Finnish capital the two leaders would discuss the situation in the Near East region, the position in Cambodia and Afghanistan, and ways to accelerate the talks on conventional Armed Forces in Europe.

G. Bush held a news conference. There were loads of questions from journalists. On the one hand, it is three months since the presidents last met in Washington. And these three months covered the summer—when political life generally comes to a standstill. But these three summer months, looking back on them, have contained enough unusual events to last three years.

The situation in our own home is changing notably. The NATO Council session in London announced that it no longer considers the Soviet Union the enemy and that the "cold war" is over. German unification is in full swing. The convergence of East and West continues. It would have seemed that 1990 was proceeding to "schedule" had it not been for the flare-up of the conflict in the Gulf....

Certain observers believe that this was the impetus for the one-day meeting. There have been rumors that the United States is letting Saddam Husayn know that his main partner—the USSR—will henceforth be cooperating with the West. Some people are claiming that there are increasing differences between Moscow and Washington, and no one knows which way events might go.

There is a grain of truth in that—it is not always possible to second-guess the outcome of events. Especially in "hot spots." But I think that the sides' positions are quite clear. They may be subject to shifts or differ on some points, but it is quite obvious that our country does not support aggression and the seizure of foreign territory.

We advocate resolving the conflict by political means; ours is an honest and principled position.

However alarming the situation in the Gulf, it is also clear that the conflict is not the only issue in the world. Helsinki will undoubtedly see a discussion on other issues as well. Issues which have been discussed before.

From this standpoint the choice of venue for the meeting strikes me as significant. Helsinki is not just a city these days. Some 15 years ago the Finnish capital gave its name to the process known today as the "Helsinki process." This process has now gained its second wind, as it were. Helsinki stands for the active strengthening of security, cooperation, the encouragement of movements of ideas and people, respect for human rights, and much else besides. All these positions are formulated in the Final Act.

History had a good fate in store for the process begun in Helsinki. We realized this particularly clearly at the end of last year when, on a visit to Italy, M.S. Gorbachev put forward the idea that Helsinki II should be staged this year rather than in 1992, as had been previously supposed.

Events have pushed ahead the implementation of the idea. The unification of the two German states was a decisive factor. It marks the end of the postwar period, which lasted four and one-half decades. The Europe of divided military blocs, the Europe of confrontation bristling with missiles is passing away. What will the new Europe be like? That is the question. A very important question. What institutions and centers will assume the role of guarantors of security and stabilizing factors? An answer may be provided by the CSCE summit to be held in Paris 19 November. There is not much time left before the Paris meeting. Will everything go the way one would like? Will the meeting between the presidents help to solve certain small problems? Quite possibly.

At his news conference President Bush reaffirmed that he intends to also discuss the question of conventional forces in Europe, since he really hopes that "this should lead to a summit within the CSCE framework."

It seems to me that the problem of economic cooperation and partnership between the USSR and the United States will not be sidestepped. There is something to be said in that area too. The opinion in the West that the USSR is headed for starvation and chaos has halted the burgeoning desire of Western entrepreneurs to immediately start doing business with Soviet partners.

What assessment are politicians making of the presidents' decision to have a meeting?

"The decision to hold the summit at this time is a wise one," T. Foley, speaker of the House of Representatives, noted. "I consider it important both for President Bush and for President Gorbachev to have a chance to discuss not only cooperation in settling the Gulf crisis—which is

noteworthy in itself—but to look ahead to what joint efforts they could make in the future under certain circumstances.”

Looking ahead.... This is the concept that marked out previous summits.... The presidents are calling the meeting a working meeting—the name is not the point. We are getting used to these meetings. They no longer provoke a sensationalistic outburst of predictions. But the point of meetings between the presidents—to look ahead—will always be their strongest aspect. This is what the presidents should do above all.

‘Significance’ Attached to Talks

PM0509120390 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
5 Sep 90 Morning Edition p 4

[Unattributed report: “Briefings at the USSR Foreign Ministry Press Center”]

[Text] V.N. Ignatenko, head of the USSR President’s press service, made the following statement on 4 September at a briefing for Soviet and foreign journalists.

The USSR President, the statement says, attaches great significance to the upcoming meeting in Helsinki with U.S. President G. Bush. M.S. Gorbachev sees the meeting as a continuation of contacts in the spirit of Malta and Camp David.

It will be a working meeting. There will be a discussion of a wide range of international questions and also bilateral relations. It would be difficult to overestimate the importance of regular exchanges of opinion of this kind. They have great constructive potential for Soviet-American relations and world politics.

The Soviet President responded with alacrity to G. Bush’s meeting initiative. Both the U.S. President and the Soviet President agreed on the meeting format without any difficulty, the statement goes on to say.

Naturally, a discussion of the Persian Gulf crisis will be on the agenda. The USSR President and the Soviet leadership have their own information on the state of affairs in the Persian Gulf zone. This acute crisis is the subject of constant contacts the USSR President is having, particularly with state leaders both in Europe and in the Arab region, with which intimate and close relations have been established. The Helsinki meeting will be an opportunity to hear what information the U.S. President has, to comprehensively discuss the situation, and to intensify the joint quest.

The Soviet President is prepared to discuss in Helsinki questions concerning even greater activation of the United Nations in defusing the crisis in the Persian Gulf. The President believes that all political efforts, including mediation, are regarded by the Soviet Union as positive.

G. Gerasimov, chief of the USSR Foreign Ministry Information Administration, also gave a briefing. He announced that a fourth group of Soviet people had

arrived in Moscow on 3 September on an Aeroflot flight from Baghdad. It comprises 55 women. Thus, all the women and children due for evacuation have now been brought out of Iraq.

Baker Lauds Soviet Cooperation

LD0509091790 Moscow TASS in English 0901 GMT
5 Sep 90

[Text] Washington September 5 TASS—The U.S. strategy in the Gulf crisis is to lead a global political alliance to isolate Iraq politically, economically and militarily, Secretary of State James Baker told a House Foreign Affairs Committee hearing on Tuesday [4 September].

He stressed the need for the coordinated international isolation of Iraq as the only peaceful way to make it withdraw from Kuwait, release foreign hostages and allow the restoration of the legitimate Kuwaiti Government.

Speaking of the international response to the crisis, Baker said: “We are gratified by the responsible and productive work that we have been able to undertake with the other permanent members (of the United Nations Security Council)....

“In particular, the Soviet Union has proven a responsible partner, suggesting new possibilities for active superpower cooperation in resolving regional conflicts.

“The president will work to further strengthen our ties of partnership when he meets President Gorbachev in Helsinki this Sunday [9 September].

The possibilities for further cooperation, in Baker words, have been opened up by recent changes in the world, in the U.S.-Soviet relationship and in the USSR.

“An enlightened Soviet leadership has encouraged peaceful, democratic change as the only legitimate road to progress. This administration has actively engaged the new thinkers and reformers in the Soviet Union.

“Together we are finding common interest which will unite the East and West. Partnership is replacing conflict in that relation.... We must leave behind not only the cold war, but the conflicts that preceded it,” Baker said.

Fitzwater Notes Agenda

LD0509130190 Moscow TASS in English 1155 GMT
5 Sep 90

[Text] Washington September 5 TASS—“A new foundation for world order is being built and the [word indistinct] work begins in Helsinki,” White House Press Secretary Marlin Fitzwater said on Tuesday [4 September]. He answered journalists’ questions about the agenda of the Soviet-American summit due in the capital of Finland on September 9.

"We envision that a good deal of time will be spent on the Persian Gulf in these meetings," Fitzwater said.

"The Soviets have been very supportive at the UN and in letting the world know that they oppose Saddam Husayn's aggression. This summit should provide an even stronger bond of unified opposition to Saddam. It also offers an important opportunity for both leaders to assess superpower interests in the post-cold war period," Fitzwater said.

"The Conventional Forces in Europe agreement will also be part of the talks," Fitzwater said. "The Soviets and the U.S. agreed in Ottawa that a CFE agreement must be ready to sign before holding a summit of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe that is tentatively scheduled for November or December in Paris. The two presidents will not be negotiating details of this agreement, but they will be attempting to add the impetus that would ensure that that agreement is ready to sign and that the summit can be held."

Fitzwater stressed that the two presidents would also discuss Soviet economic reforms. At the instruction of the summit of industrialised nations in Houston, the International Monetary Fund has led a four-country team to the Soviet Union to assess their needs and opportunities for Western help.

Fitzwater said "President Bush will be interested in the progress that has been made in that assessment, and President Gorbachev's views of the reform effort."

Fitzwater stressed that President Bush liked the unstructured agenda nature of the Malta summit. "We would attempt to approximate that again in the Helsinki summit. He intends to preserve a considerable time for general discussions about regional and bilateral issues and about the changing pattern of East-West relations."

"We agree with the Soviets that it (summit) will be important and (?constructive)," Fitzwater said.

Journalists noticed that Fitzwater omitted to mention a discussion of questions related to a treaty on the reduction in offensive armaments in the agenda for Helsinki. Asked why he did so, Fitzwater said: "The START treaty is on track and continuing."

Asked if the President still expected the START treaty to be signed this year, Fitzwater answered: "Well, we're hopeful".

Speaking about White House preparations for the Helsinki summit, Fitzwater said that President Bush would leave Washington on Friday evening [7 September]. He will meet President Koivisto of Finland on Saturday. The first session of talks between Bush and Gorbachev is scheduled for Sunday morning. They will then have lunch and an afternoon session. A joint statement upon the results of the meeting or a press conference is expected.

Fitzwater said that White House advanced teams had gone to Helsinki on Monday [3 September] to coordinate arrangements.

U.S. Senators Visit To Share Ideas, Discuss Ties

Delegation Arrives in Leningrad

LD0309223190 Moscow TASS in English 2046 GMT
3 Sep 90

[By TASS correspondent Nikolay Kondratenko]

[Text] Leningrad September 4 TASS—Seven senators from the states of Kansas, Utah, Wyoming, Idaho, New York, Oklahoma and Florida arrived in the Soviet Union on an official visit last Sunday. They held their first business meetings in Leningrad.

Leningrad Mayor Anatoliy Sobchak received the Senators on Monday. He stressed that September turned into an American month in the Leningrad calendar as to the number of guests from the United States.

"We are glad to welcome you here and hope that our relations in business cooperation will grow stronger," Sobchak said.

Describing problems under consideration by the Leningrad City Council, he singled out the revival of the city as a centre of world culture, science and tourism as well as the ecological revitalisation of the region.

An international fund to revive Leningrad was established. It has a branch in New York. It is planned to hand over more than 70 churches to believers, including the Kazan Cathedral and the Church of Resurrection.

Republican minority leader Robert Dole, head of the delegation, told TASS that the visit began successfully. He stressed that in Moscow the delegation intends to meet Soviet leaders, above all President Gorbachev.

Dole said that the Senators intend to discuss bilateral cooperation and prospects for its development.

Asked to comment on the forthcoming meeting between George Bush and Mikhail Gorbachev, Dole said that it is very important that the two leaders seek to clarify each other's stands during the Gulf crisis.

He expressed hope that the meeting will be useful.

The senators familiarised themselves with the work of the ongoing second international conference on human rights in the city and visited Pushkin and Pavlovsk, two famous suburbs of Leningrad.

The guests will depart for Moscow on Tuesday.

Dole Leads Group to Moscow

LD0409165290 Moscow Television Service
in Russian 1430 GMT 4 Sep 90

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] A delegation from the U.S. Senate headed by Senator Robert Dole, leader of the Republican minority, arrived in Moscow today. The delegation was met at Sheremetyevo-1 airport by Laptev, chairman of the Soviet of the Union of the USSR Supreme Soviet. The current visit by U.S. Senators is to return a trip by a delegation of the USSR Supreme Soviet last fall. The members of the U.S. delegation made a statement for Soviet and foreign journalists at the airport.

[Begin recording in English with superimposed Russian translation] [Dole] This afternoon and tomorrow morning we are to have a whole series of meetings with Soviet official representatives. Our final meeting will be with Mr. Gorbachev. We shall discuss a whole series of issues and problems with various Soviet representatives. We are very interested to know in what way economic reforms are being implemented in this country and it would also be interesting for us to find out about Mr. Gorbachev's viewpoint on the crisis situation in the Persian Gulf. Senator Warner.

[Warner] We shall also be discussing the issue of he talks in the sphere of arms control which are now underway. As you know, the U.S. Senate plays a very important role, a key role, virtually, in the process of the ratification of treaties and agreements, and the Senate will be particularly concerned with issues of arms control and the implementation of these agreements. [end recording] [video shows arrival of delegation, met by Laptev, and delegation at news briefing]

Lawmakers Meet With Lukyanov

LD0409195490 Moscow TASS in English 1910 GMT
4 Sep 90

[Text] Moscow September 4 TASS—Chairman of the Soviet parliament Anatoliy Lukyanov received in the Kremlin today a group of U.S. Senators headed by Senate Minority Leader Robert Dole. The delegation is visiting the Soviet Union at the invitation of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

During the meeting, the sides discussed the state of and prospects for the development of Soviet-American relations which are characterised by gradual transition from mutual understanding to interaction and partnership.

Lukyanov replied to questions concerning the implementation of political and economic reform in the USSR and the realisation of the Soviet concept of new foreign policy thinking.

The sides examined work on a Soviet-American treaty on radical cuts in strategic offensive weapons and other military and political issues discussed at Soviet-American negotiations.

During the exchange of opinions, they discussed regional problems, including developments in the Gulf.

The sides noted with satisfaction that Soviet-American exchanges at the parliamentary level are on the rise. This

shows a trend for further normalisation of relations and expansion of the political dialogue between the two countries.

Yeltsin Receives Americans

LD0409204290 Moscow TASS in English 2031 GMT
4 Sep 90

[Text] Moscow September 4 TASS—The American visitors met member of the Presidential Council Yevgeniy Primakov today. At the request of U.S. legislators, he commented on the situation in the country and described difficulties facing the Soviet Union in connection with transition to a market economy.

The sides exchanged opinions on the state of and prospects for the development of Soviet-American relations and favoured the speedier drafting of a package of agreements on disarmament if the Helsinki meeting between the Soviet and American presidents is a success.

They also discussed the development of the Iraq-Kuwait conflict.

President of the Russian Parliament Boris Yeltsin favoured transition to an inter-state level of relations between the Russian Federation and the United States.

He stressed during a meeting with the senators that the Russian Federation is now pursuing its own domestic and foreign policies different from the centre's line. Nevertheless, relations with the United States remain at the level of various funds and joint ventures.

Yeltsin noted that the development of relations could assume not only social but also economic character. He said that it is also possible to take joint steps to eliminate the nuclear threat.

He proposed a tripartite agreement between the U.S., Russia and Kazakhstan to ban nuclear tests, since they are conducted in these two Soviet republics.

Yeltsin described in detail some aspects of the "500-day programme," an action plan to pull the Russian Federation out of the crisis.

He stressed that it provides for the preservation of economic ties with other republics and is oriented to the legislation of particular republics in contrast to the programme of the all-union government, which presupposes stiff vertical structures.

Group Meets With Gorbachev

LD0509121290 Moscow TASS in English 1146 GMT
5 Sep 90

[By TASS correspondent Sergey Zharkov]

[Text] Moscow September 5 TASS—President Mikhail Gorbachev today received a group of U.S. Senators, headed by Senate Minority Leader Robert Dole.

Before the meeting, Gorbachev said the number of Soviet-U.S. parliamentary contacts has grown recently, reflecting the dynamics of the development of bilateral relations.

Gorbachev noted the great role played by U.S. Ambassador to the Soviet Union Jack Matlock in the improvement of Soviet-U.S. relations.

Aral Sea Project Established

*LD0509125190 Moscow TASS in English 1143 GMT
5 Sep 90*

[Text] Moscow September 5 TASS—Soviet Deputy Prime Minister Nikolay Laverov and visiting U.S. Senator Albert Gore have agreed in principle on Soviet-U.S. cooperation to save the shrinking Aral Sea.

Soviet scholars, including experts from the State Committee for Science and Technology, agree that the Soviet Union alone cannot save the sea.

This view is shared by Gore, invited by Laverov, who chairs the committee, to take a look at the Aral Sea area and get first-hand knowledge of major ecological problems.

The Soviet Union's coordinating centre on the Aral Sea, which was set up by the Institute of Water Problems and the Academy of Sciences' Geography Institute, will also oversee the planned Soviet-U.S. cooperation.

Since the drying up of the Aral Sea may have disastrous consequences for the entire mankind, the Soviet and U.S. sides believe it is essential to draw up an international programme to save the sea and adjacent areas.

The plan will be sent to the United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP) where, Gore assured his hosts, it will be completely supported.

U.S. Collective Ownership Delegation Visits

*PM0409144890 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
2 Sep 90 Morning Edition p 2*

[INTERFAX report: "U.S. Specialists' Advice"]

[Text] A delegation from the U.S. "Collective Property" organization arrived in Moscow 1 September to hold talks with ranking Soviet officials and possibly to sign a number of agreements. It advocates the creation of enterprises whose collective owners would be their own workers.

The Americans will visit production facilities in Moscow and Moscow Oblast and prepare their own recommendations for the enterprises' transfer to collective ownership. The organization may provide assistance in obtaining foreign-currency credits for enterprises whose collectives are prepared to buy them from the state.

During its tour of the country the ISSOP [expansion unknown] delegation will hold talks with Lithuanian

Prime Minister K. Prunskiene and Latvian head of state I. Godmanis. It is expected that it will be received by L. Abalkin, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, in Moscow, and in Leningrad a meeting is planned with Mayor A. Sobchak. INTERFAX has learned that the delegation intends to sign agreements on collaboration in the introduction of collective ownership at Soviet enterprises.

A meeting with B. Yeltsin or his first deputy R. Khasbulatov is planned for 5 September at the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet.

China

Reports Continue on Shevardnadze's PRC Visit

*PM0409100490 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
3 Sep 90 Morning Edition p 3*

[Article by TASS special correspondents Vladimir Kashirov and Georgiy Shmelev under the general heading "E.A. Shevardnadze Visit Continues"]

[Text] Harbin, 2 Sep—In line with an accord talks were held in Harbin (PRC) on 1 September 1990 between USSR Foreign Minister E.A. Shevardnadze and PRC Foreign Minister Qian Qichen.

The Soviet and PRC foreign ministers expressed deep concern at the present crisis in the Persian Gulf. They consider that the crisis in the Persian Gulf not only seriously threatens peace and security in the region but also has a serious impact on the stability of the international situation. The sides stated once again that Iraqi troops should be withdrawn from Kuwait immediately, unconditionally, and completely, that Kuwait's sovereignty, independence, and territorial integrity should be restored, and that the safety and freedom of foreign citizens in Iraq and Kuwait should be guaranteed.

The sides advocate a political settlement of the crisis in the Persian Gulf by peaceful means on the basis of strict and absolute fulfillment of the relevant UN Security Council resolutions. They support the UN secretary general's mediating mission in the Persian Gulf. An exchange of opinions took place on the question of using the mechanism of the UN Military Staff Committee, and the sides came out in favor of actualizing [vyavlyat] this body's role on the basis of the relevant UN Security Council resolutions.

The participants in the talks consider that the efforts of the Arab countries, including efforts within the Arab League framework, to settle the conflict could make a weighty contribution to alleviating the dangerous situation in the region. The Chinese and USSR Governments call upon all countries to show restraint, avoid the use of force, and refrain from such actions as could lead to further escalation of tension and increasing military confrontation.

During discussion of the situation in the Asian and Pacific region the sides noted the considerable enhancement of the role played by the region in world politics and the world economy. The sides expressed support for increasing collaboration among the countries of the Asian and Pacific region in resolving the region's problems and for strengthening their political and economic cooperation.

It was agreed that the sides' consultations on the problems of the Asian and Pacific region be put on a regular footing, paying special attention to making progress in settling existing conflict situations in Asia.

The Cambodian problem was examined from this standpoint. The Soviet and PRC foreign ministers unanimously consider that the settlement of this problem is at a decisive stage. They expressed satisfaction at the adoption of important documents by the UN Security Council permanent members defining the framework of a political settlement of the Cambodian problem and expressed approval of the efforts made by the two cochairmen of the Paris international conference, the countries of Southeast Asia, and other interested parties.

The USSR and the PRC express the hope that all the Cambodian sides will on the basis of the documents drawn up by the five UN Security Council permanent members soon reach an accord on a political settlement, form a Supreme National Council, and create conditions for holding a general election in the near future. If Prince Norodom Sihanouk is elected chairman of the Supreme National Council both sides will respect that decision. The sides confirmed that they will continue their efforts to contribute to an all-embracing, just, and rational settlement of the Cambodian problem, advocated a cease-fire between the Cambodian sides and the cessation of military aid to the Cambodian sides by the Soviet Union and China as an important stage within an all-embracing political settlement of the Cambodian problem, and called on other interested states to take similar action.

The sides paid attention to questions of detente and stability on the Korean peninsula, believing that it is impossible to achieve genuine security and stability in northeast Asia without a settlement on the Korean peninsula. Dialogue between North and South Korea is of great importance in lessening tension. The hope was expressed in this regard that positive results will be achieved at the upcoming meeting between the prime ministers of the DPRK and the ROK.

The situation in Afghanistan and the prospects for achieving national reconciliation and securing peace in that country were discussed and the hope expressed that Afghanistan will become an independent, peaceful, neutral, and nonaligned state.

Qian Qichen was briefed on the latest high-level Soviet-American contacts. Various aspects of the situation in Europe and the problem of German unification were broached.

The two countries' foreign ministers expressed deep satisfaction at the dynamic development of Soviet-Chinese relations, which are embracing more and more new spheres. They stated that they will continue their joint efforts to implement the accords achieved at the Soviet-Chinese summit meeting last year and to develop good-neighborly, friendly relations between the USSR and the PRC on the basis of the Soviet-Chinese Communiqué of 18 May 1989.

In the ministers' opinion, progress has been made in the border talks. The sides unanimously advocated speeding up the talks process in order to ensure that the border problem between the Soviet Union and China receives a just and rational resolution as quickly as possible. The sides agreed to hold the next session of the working party of Soviet and Chinese delegations on border issues in Beijing in the last 10 days of October this year.

The two sides agreed that the next round of talks on mutual Armed Forces reduction and confidence building in the military sphere in the region of the Soviet-Chinese border will start 10 September and stressed their sincere desire to make progress there. They regard these talks as a central link in the process of strengthening Soviet-Chinese relations.

The ministers reached an accord on opening a Soviet consulate general in Shenyang and a Chinese consulate general in Khabarovsk in the near future.

E.A. Shevardnadze confirmed the invitation to the Chinese foreign minister to pay an official visit to the Soviet Union, which was received with thanks by Qian Qichen. The date of the visit will be agreed through diplomatic channels later.

The ministers' talks were held in a warm, friendly atmosphere.

Yazov Expected To Visit Chinese Counterpart

*OW0409153190 Tokyo KYODO in English 1512 GMT
4 Sep 90*

[Text] Vladivostok, Sept. 4 KYODO—Soviet Defense Minister Dmitry T. Yazov will visit China this month to hold talks with his Chinese counterpart and military officials, Soviet diplomatic sources said Tuesday.

Yazov's visit to China was originally as scheduled for last month.

The sources said Yazov is expected to discuss military issues between the two nations, including confidence-building and reduction of military forces deployed along their border.

Yazov also will exchange views with the Chinese military regarding the Persian Gulf crisis and the Cambodian conflict, the sources said.

PRC Asylum-Seeking Pilot's Return Explained*PM3108220290 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
1 Sep 90 Morning Edition p 7*

[Report by N. Burbyga under the rubric: "Details for IZVESTIYA": "USSR Foreign Ministry: Chinese Pilot Not Subjected to Political Harrassment"]

[Text] As reported earlier in IZVESTIYA, the Chinese military pilot Wang Baoyu, who landed his fighter aircraft at Vladivostok Airport, was returned to the Chinese authorities 29 August.

On the basis of which legal acts was the pilot—whose flight to our country, according to his words, was politically motivated—handed over to China? Here is the USSR Foreign Ministry International Law Administration's answer to the IZVESTIYA correspondent's question.

There are a number of conventions on this subject. There is the 1970 Hague convention on combatting illegal hijackings of aircraft, the 1971 Montreal convention on combatting illegal actions aimed at undermining civil aviation safety, and also the 1963 Tokyo convention on law violations committed aboard aircraft.

[Question] But in this case it is a question of a serviceman of another country crossing the border in a military aircraft....

[Answer] The case is indeed unusual. Therefore the state felt free to make whatever decision it saw fit, proceeding above all from political considerations and the prevailing situation.

[Question] What about the political motives for the Far Eastern flight?

[Answer] We only have the pilot's word for them. But were there any grounds for such motives? It has been established that Wang Baoyu was not subjected to any political harrassment.

[Question] So who is granted political asylum in our country and on what grounds?

[Answer] Article 38 of the USSR Constitution states that the right of asylum is granted to foreigners persecuted in their country for defending the interests of the working people, taking part in revolutionary or national liberation movements, or for progressive social, political, or scientific activities....

[Question] And what is the military jurists' opinion on this score?

[Answer] "The situation as regards the flight of Senior Lieutenant Wang Baoyu is complex and delicate," Colonel of Justice V. Volkov, chief of the Military Legislation Department of the USSR Defense Ministry Administration of Affairs, says. "From a formal viewpoint, it is obvious that the state border of our country has been violated. But why has this happened? Could it

be that the instruments have let the pilot down, or perhaps he lacked skill? There are more than enough cases of this kind in international practice.... If it is a question of a deliberate violation of the border, then in returning the pilot and the aircraft to the Chinese side, we were guided by humanitarian principles and good neighborly relations between our countries. Moreover—and this is an important circumstance—serviceman Wang Baoyu had committed a military crime, and in such cases all countries do everything in their power to return both the pilot and the aircraft. As for the PRC, we have an agreement to this effect with that country. At one time, for instance, the Chinese side returned a helicopter to us which had strayed into adjoining territory for technical reasons."

PRC Official Sees 'Good' Prospects in Relations*OW0309193090 Moscow in Mandarin to Southeast Asia 1200 GMT 3 Sep 90*

[Text] As the Soviet Union's neighbor, China is attentively following the changes in that country's domestic situation and its on-going reforms. China wants to see a stable situation and economic prosperity in the Soviet Union. Li Zhaoxing, director of the Information Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of China, made these remarks during an interview with the BAN YUE TAN journal.

He pointed out: The prospects for developing Sino-Soviet relations are good at present. It is certain that the relations between the two countries will develop constantly so long as both sides adhere to the principle of peaceful coexistence and the guidelines of the Sino-Soviet joint communique.

PRC Science Academies Plan Joint Studies*LD3108223390 Moscow TASS in English 1757 GMT
31 Aug 90*

[Text] Moscow August 31 TASS—"Soviet-Chinese cooperation in science is developing and has good prospects," Mikhail Titarenko, director of the Far Eastern Institute of the Soviet Academy of Sciences, told TASS.

The presidential decree on the status of the Soviet Academy of Sciences enhances this cooperation and promotes long-term bilateral exchanges of scientists.

Now Chinese scientists, who arrive at different institutes of the academy of sciences to carry out their on-the-job-training programmes, can become part of the staff and conduct research together with their Soviet colleagues.

Relations between the two countries, reestablished in 1986-1987, are assuming a new character. Titarenko noted that now cooperation is developing between institutes, laboratories and research collectives. Scientists of the two countries plan to start research efforts on crystallography, lasers, nuclear power and space exploration.

To cooperate in studying and developing social sciences, the Institute of the Far East has concluded a contract with the Chinese Institute of the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, the Academies of Social Sciences in Shanghai and Jilin Province, and the Universities in Beijing, Fudong and Jilin.

The Soviet and Chinese Academies of Sciences plan to launch joint studies in some 70 new fields of science and technology.

Joint Trade Exhibition Opens in Beijing

LD0309203890 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1800 GMT 3 Sep 90

[Excerpt] The solemn opening of a Soviet trade and industrial exhibition took place in the national exhibition hall of the Chinese capital today. Albert Papayan, our Beijing correspondent, reports.

[Papayan] In his welcoming speech, Kanayav, deputy chairman of the USSR Chamber of Commerce and Industry, said that the main purpose of the exhibition is to present Soviet export goods, to promote their availability on the Chinese market, and to boost the development of new forms of economic and managerial interaction. We have in mind, Kanayev said, setting up enterprises with mixed capital, exchanging scientific and technical information and technology, establishing industrial cooperation, and entering the markets of third countries with joint developments. [passage omitted]

Railroad To Open, Link Chinese City, Border

LD0309204190 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 3 Sep 90

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Traffic is open along the new railroad main line stretching 460 km from the city of Urumqi in the PRC to the Soviet-Chinese border in the area of Alatau. The new railroad is part of the transcontinental main line known by the name of the Euro-Asian bridge, from Rotterdam in the Netherlands to the port of Lianyungang on the east coast of China.

Chinese Labor Import Halted After 90 Expelled

LD0209062990 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1900 GMT 1 Sep 90

[From the "Television News Service" program]

[Text] A decision has been taken to expel from our country 90 of the 800 Chinese working at the Gorkiy motor vehicle works. The reasons are rowdiness, speculation, and unauthorized absence.

Further import of manpower from China has been halted, at least for the moment.

High-Altitude Experiments Conducted With China

LD0309185290 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1208 GMT 3 Sep 90

[Text] Tashkent, 3 Sep (TASS)—TASS correspondent Bakhtiyar Khasanov reports: Kazakhstan and been delivered to the Astronomy Institute of the Academy of Sciences of Uzbek SSR in Tashkent. It was in the atmosphere for over 72 hours and covered nearly 5,000 km.

"This is the first such experiment in the history of Soviet-Chinese scientific cooperation," T. Yuldashbayev, director of the institute says. "Apart from us, the Physics Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences and the Institute of Physics High Energies of the Chinese Academy of Sciences are taking part in conducting it. Now we have to process the materials obtained. This flight will be followed by others. The program of research envisages joint development of apparatus for recording cosmic rays, working on board aerostats in the atmosphere. The Beijing-Tashkent route was chosen because it lies on a latitude providing unique opportunities for the study of cosmic rays. In the opinion of scientists, research from aerostats will be many times cheaper than from earth satellites.

Northeast Asia

Shevardnadze Visits Japan as Part of Asian Tour

Considers Visit 'Landmark'

LD0409165190 Moscow TASS in English 1636 GMT 4 Sep 90

[By TASS correspondents Aleksandr Kopnov, Vladimir Kuchko, and Georgiy Shmelev]

[Excerpts] Tokyo 4 September TASS—Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze arrived on an official visit in Tokyo today, at the invitation of the Japanese Government. [passage omitted]

"We have a large agenda," Shevardnadze said on arrival in the airport, "but the talks will focus on all issues and problems connected with the forthcoming visit to Japan by President Mikhail Gorbachev. I have no doubts that this visit will become a landmark, perhaps, signalling a unique turning point in our relations."

"In the aircraft I recalled my first visit to Tokyo in 1986. Since then we have had a fairly good cooperation both as neighbours and partners. Our relations have developed dynamically in all areas. I would refer to these years as the years that accumulated positive experience and energy. But today, the time has come for more active and large-scale actions in order to extend multilateral Soviet-Japanese cooperation. I mean our bilateral relations and cooperation in the international arena on behalf of peace and security in the world."

Greeting the Soviet guest, Nakayama said he viewed talks about the forthcoming visit by Mikhail Gorbachev to Japan as very important. "I hope that they will contribute to better relations between Japan and the Soviet Union at this new stage and promote friendly ties between the two countries. I want to take this opportunity to tell you that the Soviet boy Kostya, who is now in a Hokkaido hospital with severe burns, is feeling better."

Meets With Counterpart 5 Sep

*LD0509063990 Moscow TASS in English 0624 GMT
5 Sep 90*

[By TASS correspondents Aleksandr Kopnov, Vladimir Kuchko, and Georgiy Shmelev]

[Text] Tokyo September 5 TASS—Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze and his Japanese counterpart Taro Nakayama opened their first round of talks at the Japanese Foreign Ministry's reception house this morning. The meeting was wholly devoted to pressing international issues.

Shevardnadze arrived here for a three-day official visit on Tuesday. The sides intend to concentrate on the Gulf crisis and are expected discuss the Soviet-U.S. summit in Helsinki on Sunday.

According to diplomatic sources, a lot of time at the talks, on the initiative of the Soviet side, will be allotted to military-political problems of the Asia-Pacific region.

The ministers will compare notes on a Cambodian settlement in light of recent agreements on this score between the five permanent members of the United Nations Security Council.

They will also pay close attention to the situation on the Korean peninsula in view of the first meeting between the heads of government of North and South Korea in the post-war years, which has begun in Seoul.

Shevardnadze and Nakayama will hold the second round of their talks this afternoon when they are to discuss bilateral relations.

Meetings with Japanese politicians also feature prominently in the programme of the Soviet foreign minister's stay in Tokyo. Today, for instance, he is scheduled to meet Ichiro Ozawa, secretary-general of the ruling Liberal Democratic Party, and former Foreign Minister Shintaro Abe.

Japan is the final leg of Shevardnadze's current Asian tour which has also taken him to China and North Korea. During a stop-over in Vladivostok, in the Soviet Far East, he addressed an international conference on Asian-Pacific problems.

Issues Condemnation of Iraq

*LD0509064590 Moscow TASS in English 0635 GMT
5 Sep 90*

[By TASS correspondents Aleksandr Kopnov, Vladimir Kuchko, and Georgiy Shmelev]

[Text] Tokyo September 5 TASS—Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze and his Japanese counterpart Taro Nakayama today expressed serious concern over the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait, describing it as a grave encroachment on international peace and security.

In a joint statement on the Gulf crisis, issued after their first round of talks here, they said the attack on Kuwait and its annexation were illegal and contradicted the U.N. Charter, which proclaimed the need to refrain from the use or threat of force by any country against the territorial integrity and political independence of another.

The statement said that the Iraqi actions also ran counter to generally recognised principles of international law.

The USSR and Japan, the ministers said, were firmly in favour of an immediate Iraqi withdrawal from Kuwait and an early restoration of that country's sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity.

Expressing concern about the position of foreign nationals held in Iraq and Kuwait, contrary to obligations stemming from international legal norms and human rights, Shevardnadze and Nakayama demanded that Iraq allow them to leave for home immediately and without hindrance.

Meets Former Foreign Minister

*LD0509072890 Moscow TASS in English 0720 GMT
5 Sep 90*

[By TASS correspondents Aleksandr Kopnov, Vladimir Kuchko, and Georgiy Shmelev]

[Text] Tokyo September 5 TASS—Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze today met former Japanese Foreign Minister Shintaro Abe.

Abe is firmly committed to improving Soviet-Japanese relations. Meetings between Shevardnadze and Abe have become rather regular. It was Abe who established contacts between the Soviet Communist Party and Japan's ruling Liberal-Democratic Party.

On September 20, Abe leaves for the Soviet Union with a large group of 60 parliamentarians and several hundred businessmen to attend the week-long festival of Japan in the USSR.

The talk concerned, in part, some specific measures to conduct this major event in Soviet-Japanese relations.

Abe is the author of the well-known project "The Sea of Japan" for developing cooperation in that area of the USSR, Japan, China, North and South Korea. "The

Soviet Union fully supports this initiative," Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Igor Rogachev told TASS.

Issues Joint Statement on Iraq

LD0509101890 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 0937 GMT 5 Sep 90

[Text] Tokyo, 5 Sep (TASS)—We are transmitting the full text of a joint Soviet-Japanese statement in connection with the situation in the Persian Gulf zone, which was adopted in the course of the first round of talks between the USSR and Japanese foreign ministers, held here.

E.A. Shevardnadze, the USSR minister of foreign affairs, and T. Nakayama, the Japanese minister of foreign affairs, express extreme concern at Iraq's invasion of Kuwait which is a serious infringement of international peace and security.

The sides adhere to the general understanding that these actions by Iraq and the annexation of Kuwait are unlawful and at variance with the requirements of the UN Charter which has proclaimed the need to refrain from the threat of force or its use by one state against the territorial integrity and political independence of another state, and are also at variance with the fundamental and generally accepted principles of international law. They are firmly in favor of the immediate withdrawal of Iraqi troops from Kuwait and the most rapid restoration of the sovereignty, independence, and territorial integrity of Kuwait.

The sides share the view that in the current conditions of a historical process of positive changes in relations between east and west, when searches for ways of forming a new international order on the threshold of the 21st Century are being put into effect, collective efforts and the full utilization of the possibilities of the United Nations in approaching this regional conflict situation, will bear witness to the stability of the international community to ensure peace and stability in the future.

Proceeding from this premise, the ministers, recognizing the important significance of the resolutions adopted by the UN Security Council in connection with the events in the Persian Gulf region, consider it essential for all states to cooperate in the proper manner with a view to their speediest implementation in full measure.

Expressing serious concern at the situation concerning foreign citizens being held in Iraq and Kuwait in violation of the obligations arising from the norms of international law and human rights, the ministers firmly advocate implementation of the provisions of the relevant UN Security Council resolutions saying that Iraq must give these citizens the opportunity of leaving for their homeland without delay or hindrance. They call urgently on Iraq to remove obstacles to performances of the functions of the diplomatic and consular missions in Kuwait and to refrain from any action which infringes the status and inviolability of their personnel.

The sides call on Iraq to take the immediate measures envisioned by the relevant decisions of the UN Security Council in the spirit of strict observance of the UN Charter and the generally accepted norms of international law.

Continues Talks on Security

LD0509133790 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 1249 GMT 5 Sep 90

[By TASS correspondents Aleksandr Kopnov, Vladimir Kuchko, and Georgiy Shmelev]

[Text] Tokyo, 5 Sep (TASS)—The ministers of foreign affairs of the USSR and Japan advocated in the course of the second round of talks here today in the reception house of the Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs that the positive processes taking place at the moment in Europe should be extended to cover the Asia-Pacific region.

In the course of exchanging views, Eduard Shevardnadze provided a broad outline of the military-political situation in the Asia-Pacific region and made specific proposals that could form the basis for bilateral cooperation on maintaining peace and ensuring security in this part of the world. In the view of the Soviet side, the USSR and Japan reaching an understanding concerning mutual familiarization with the military doctrines of the two countries, reciprocal information about major exercises, timely notification of the closure of particular areas of the seas for the duration of firing practice, as well as invitations to observers to exercises and maneuvers which would entirely serve this aim. In addition, it would be possible to consider setting up direct contacts and exchanges between the USSR Ministry of Defense and the Japanese National Security Agency, exchanging visits by military delegations, vessels and air force sub-units and drawing up and concluding a Soviet-Japanese agreement on preventing incidents at sea. The Soviet minister also advocated increasing, on a reciprocal basis, the access of military attaches of both countries to military training institutions, military units, and other military installations.

Taro Nakayama, in his turn, noted the growing role of the Asia-Pacific region in the modern world and its global commercial and economic ties. In the opinion of the Japanese minister, broad economic cooperation between the states situated there would also help a great deal in preserving stability in this region.

The sides then moved on to consideration of matters relating to bilateral relations and began to discuss a peace treaty. As Igor Rogachev, USSR deputy minister of foreign affairs, told the TASS correspondents, the timetable for holding the latest, sixth, sitting of the bilateral Japanese-Soviet working group on the peace treaty would be set on Thursday. It has been decided that it will move from conceptual debate to exchanging draft documents.

On Thursday morning there will be a third and final round of talks between the USSR and Japanese foreign ministers.

Meets Democratic Party Leader

*LD0509131190 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 1238 GMT 5 Sep 90*

[By TASS correspondents Aleksandr Kopnov, Georgiy Kuchko, and Georgiy Shmelev]

[Text] Tokyo, 5 Sep—Eduard Shevardnadze, USSR minister of foreign affairs who is paying an official visit to Japan, today met Ichiro Ozawa, secretary general of Japan's Liberal Democratic Party [LDP]. It is the first time such a high-ranking representative of the Soviet Government has visited the headquarters of Japan's ruling party.

Ichiro Ozawa is a well-known political figure. He favors development of ties between the two countries and between the LDP and the CPSU.

There was a very useful conversation, which touched upon a wide circles of international problems and upon bilateral relations, a highly placed Soviet diplomat told TASS correspondents. It has helped us to better understand each other's positions.

In the morning Eduard Shevardnadze had a meeting with Shintaro Abe, a former Japanese foreign minister.

Achieves 'Common Understanding'

*PM0509112490 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
5 Sep 90 Morning Edition p 4*

[TASS report: "Results of Visit to DPRK"]

[Text] As agreed, USSR Foreign Minister E.A. Shevardnadze paid a brief working visit to Pyongyang 2-3 September 1990.

Talks took place between E.A. Shevardnadze and Kim Yong-nam, vice premier of the Administration Council and foreign minister of the DPRK. During them the sides informed one another in detail about the domestic situations in their own countries and examined the state and prospects of Soviet-Korean relations.

As a result of the discussion, the talks participants arrived at a common understanding of the majority of issues under consideration.

During the discussion of the general international situation the Soviet Union and the DPRK were of the same opinion that Iraq's aggression against Kuwait and Baghdad's crude violation of the norms of international law were sharply at odds with the positive trends of world development.

The two countries' ministers advocated the removal of all nuclear and chemical weapons from Asia and the establishment of nuclear-free peace zones there.

The talks participants paid great attention to the situation on the Korean peninsula. They believe that genuine security and stability in Northeast Asia can be ensured provided there is a settlement on the Korean peninsula and the potentially dangerous seat of tension there is eliminated. An essential prerequisite for a settlement is the lowering of the level of military confrontation and the resolution of all disputes by peaceful means by North and South.

The Soviet side provided information on its relations with the ROK.

Support was confirmed for the DPRK's initiatives aimed at eliminating military-political confrontation and implementing exchanges between the two parts of Korea. The accords on a meeting between the prime ministers of North and South and the holding of an all-Korean forum in Panmunjom in connection with the 45th anniversary of the liberation of Korea were seen as an important step on the path of mutual trust and advancement of inter-Korean dialogue.

E.A. Shevardnadze noted the constructive nature of the DPRK initiatives concerning a mutual reduction of armed forces and elimination of the foreign military presence in Korea, in particular the DPRK's 31 May 1990 proposals on confidence-building measures—restriction of military maneuvers, advance notification of them, prohibition of military exercises involving foreign forces, transformation of the demilitarized zone into a peace zone, and implementation of measures to prevent incidents.

The talks reflected a mutual desire to develop the existing friendly relations between the two states.

A treaty was signed between the USSR Government and the DPRK Government on the Soviet-Korean state border regime and a protocol was signed between the USSR Government and the DPRK Government on the demarcation of the Soviet-Korean state border. The documents were signed by USSR Foreign Minister E.A. Shevardnadze for the Soviet side and by DPRK Foreign Minister Kim Yong-nam for the Korean side.

E.A. Shevardnadze confirmed the earlier invitation to the DPRK foreign minister to pay an official friendly visit to the Soviet Union. The date of the visit will be agreed later.

Japanese, Korean Coverage of Far East Tour

Japanese Reportage

For Japanese coverage of the four-day visit of Shevardnadze to Tokyo, including his talks with Japanese Prime Minister Toshiki Kaifu and Foreign Minister Taro Nakayama, see the Japan section of the 4 September East Asia DAILY REPORT and subsequent issues.

North Korean Coverage

WA0409161590

For North Korean reportage on the visit to the DPRK by Shevardnadze, including talks with DPRK Foreign Minister Kim Yong-nam, see the North Korean section of the 4 September East Asia DAILY REPORT and subsequent issues.

Trends in Soviet-Japanese Relations Viewed

PM0409134890 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
1 Sep 90 Morning Edition p 6

[Article by K. Sarkisov, head of the Japan Department of the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Oriental Studies: "Challenge of the Times: Soviet-Japanese Relations on Threshold of New Century"]

[Text] Against the background of the dramatic improvements in international relations, there is one sphere that is resisting change: That of Soviet-Japanese relations. Their level remains low or, to use the current expression, does not accord with the potential contained in those relations. What is the reason? Some people tend to reduce everything to one simple factor—the territorial dispute—while others quite reasonably note that it is not all that simple and that the solution of the territorial problem in itself will not lead to anything. What is the way out of this impasse and indeed is there one? This highly charged question acquires special urgency in connection with the decision on the Soviet head of state's visit to Japan. In Japan they are even giving a specific date: Spring 1991.

If the visit takes place, this will be, without exaggeration, a most major event. After all, this is the first visit by a head of our state to Japan ever, even during the period of Russo-Japanese ties. The highest level was only achieved last century when the heir to the throne, Tsarevich Nikolay, visited Japan aboard the "Pamyat Azova" in spring 1891.

M.S. Gorbachev's visit should effectively break the sequence of the abnormal or, rather, harmful development of bilateral relations. It is an important but extremely difficult matter. It will be necessary to overcome 150 years of inertia and raise relations to a new level.

This will need first of all a new conceptual understanding of the system of bilateral relations, its weaknesses, and potential and fresh approaches and ideas which take into account the new realities. The article by Japanese journalist M. Takahashi in IZVESTIYA recently (issue 235) is interesting and noteworthy in this respect. It is an attempt to view Soviet-Japanese relations from the vantage point of the nineties, on the threshold of a new century.

The history of our bilateral relations is mainly a series of confrontations, inequitable treaties, wars, and struggle

for territory and spheres of influence in the most important geostrategic region of the globe. I am consciously omitting any political evaluation of the two countries' actions here. The important thing now is simply to state that the historical balance is quite negative.

Even the present state of Soviet-Japanese relations is the result of war. Unfortunately, wars not only resolve problems but also create new ones. There is a particularly large number of them in Soviet-Japanese relations. The main ones are a persisting profound distrust of one another and the Japanese side's nonrecognition of the new borders and hence the impossibility of signing a peace treaty. To this may be added other "structural" defects—a difference of political and strategic orientations and the low economic interest in one another. The Soviet Union was oriented toward Europe and the United States and that was where its main interests and hopes were focused. The Asian part of the Soviet Union remained comparatively underdeveloped, particularly the eastern part adjacent to Japan. Tokyo in turn was oriented toward the United States and its interest in economic ties with the Soviet Union, perceptible in the sixties, slackened considerably as the Japanese economy underwent qualitative growth and structural redevelopment.

There were still two factors which sustained Japan's interest in its neighbor—its tremendous military might and the unresolved territorial problem. In time the system of bilateral relations itself, which was acquiring quantitative parameters (the volume of trade, cultural and other ties), not only did not improve qualitatively but even deteriorated. The causes of the stagnation stemmed not only from the territorial dispute but also the undeveloped nature of the entire system of interests which could have encouraged centripetal forces.

In the mid-eighties the situation began to change. The formation of a new international order, it seems, caught Japan unawares. Not that the Japanese, unlike the Americans and West Europeans, for example, are unhappy at these changes. The United States and Western Europe are bidding farewell to the past with no regrets. For Japan, however, there are still problems, territorial ones among them, which it would like to resolve using the old system of relations. The United States and the Soviet Union are ceasing to be opponents and, through the democratization of Soviet society and its switch to the market economy, are even becoming partners. How can Japan find its place in this new system of international coordinates?

For Japan this is not a difficult task in principle. The country is better prepared than others for the new system of relations. For many years now it has been developing as a "new type of power," relying on strength factors not of a military-political nature but of an economic-technological nature and, in a broader sense, of a type relating to culture and civilization. Japan is supremely prepared for the processes of integration.

Soviet-Japanese contradictions are no exception. They cannot remain politically unreconstructed for long. The question is the way in which these contradictions will be resolved and how soon. Much will depend on whether the two sides can respond to this challenge of the times.

In conditions when objective factors are urging the two countries toward one another, the main obstacles in my view are the psychological barriers and inertia of the old thinking on both sides. None of the remaining obstacles is as significant. The territorial problem is an exceptional political and juridical case but also to a considerable extent a psychological one. The two sides are stubbornly committed to old positions from fear of being caught out. The Soviet side refuses to recognize the existence of the problem, afraid that recognition itself will put it in a vulnerable position. Even though recognition of a problem and talks on it do not mean recognizing the justice of the other side's arguments. For a long time even the mention of the territorial problem was considered unpatriotic in our country. But logically speaking, as soon as one partner poses a problem that means it must exist. All Japan's political parties including our ideological friends—the socialists and communists—present a united front on this question and the Japanese parliament, the official representative of its people, has adopted a number of resolutions in support of the "return of the northern territories." By dismissing the problem we lose more than we gain.

The Japanese side is also in a state of psychological inertia, tirelessly repeating that the disputed islands have been Japanese territory since time immemorial and that the solution of the problem, like the development of all relations, is possible only if the islands are simultaneously and unconditionally returned. Meanwhile, the attempts to disprove the arguments of an international legal character are not very convincing.

The only path is for both sides to renounce extreme positions and agree to resolve the problem on the basis of a mutually acceptable compromise from the standpoint of the new political thinking, observance of national security interests, and respect for national dignity. Ultimately, even when it comes to the question of the territories it is quite possible to achieve a positive solution, that is, one in which both sides gain. Of course, concessions are inevitable but this will be a concession to common sense and the spirit of the times.

Although I do not want to suggest specific proposals on the solution of the territorial question at the present stage, I am most impressed by the idea of returning to the spirit and letter of the Joint Declaration signed in 1956. I am convinced that this is a good basis for progress. Especially since the declaration is the only legal document regulating our relations and ratified by the two countries' parliaments and consequently having binding force on the sides. The peace treaty which will clearly be concluded in the future must be more substantive. The approach to that treaty should be based on the formula of what has been achieved plus something else. What this

"plus" is must be the object of constructive dialogue, which needs communications channels deeper than those existing today.

Undoubtedly it is necessary to be ready to discuss any problem that the other side raises from a position of mutual respect and a desire to take maximum account of each other's viewpoint, whether it be a problem of the postwar borders or, for example, Japanese prisoners of war. We have to understand each other's psychology better and take into account the characteristics of political culture, values, and ethics of conducting talks. Even where things seem clear-cut there can be problems. You have to work from the assumption that there is nothing insignificant in these questions, everything matters. This is particularly important in our relations with Japan, where there are many psychological "barriers" and reefs.

Life does not stand still. It is richer than any preconceived schemes or theories. Soviet-Japanese relations will advance confidently regardless of politicians' moods. This will happen because they do not exist in a vacuum and are an integral part of the incipient new world order. Nevertheless, much does depend on the politicians. On their wisdom and readiness to resolve problems in the new system of coordinates from the standpoint of the new political thinking.

It seems that both sides understand this in principle and are trying to do something about it. At the Houston G7 meeting the Japanese side tried to internationalize the territorial problem but now it is trying to soften that impression and is stating that it does not rigidly link the development of bilateral relations with the solution of the territorial problem. The Soviet side still adheres to the old line at meetings with high-ranking Japanese representatives. Furthermore, if truth be told, some of our partners do not conduct themselves very sensibly by confronting the problem head on and not showing here the "higher wisdom" which S. Abe, a leader of the ruling Liberal Democratic Party, called for last January.

Like many other people, I look forward with great hope to M.S. Gorbachev's visit to Japan in the expectation that this will be a breakthrough in bilateral relations. But at the same time I cannot overcome the worry that the sides might not again fall into the psychological trap of the old stereotypes. If the Japanese side succumbs to the temptation and immediately states, as it has done several times before, that progress in bilateral relations depends on the complete satisfaction of their territorial claims and conducts the whole meeting in that context, that will undoubtedly be a tactical and psychological mistake. And if the Soviet side goes to Tokyo armed with the old preconceptions or even tries to avoid a meaningful discussion of the territorial problem by transferring it to the realms of abstract reasoning, or, even worse, the old system of argument, that will hardly lead to success either.

It is very important to find a key to the whole meeting, some kind of general idea which would permeate everything else, soften the contradictions, and facilitate the solution of difficult problems. It is necessary to be psychologically ready for the fact that not all the problems will be resolved, perhaps not even the main ones. That is unrealistic, it will take time. What is important during the meeting is to find a correct interpretation of them and a guideline in the system of bilateral relations and to achieve mutual understanding and accord on the principles of their solution.

The Soviet delegation is sure to go to Tokyo with a substantial stock of ideas on bilateral and multilateral cooperation on global and regional problems. Much will depend on whether the Japanese side manages to respond appropriately to them rather than harping on endlessly about the territorial problem and whether it shows itself to be a constructive partner in the broad political discussion. The problems on which bilateral cooperation is possible are many—economic and political cooperation in the Asia and Pacific region, the possibility of applying the positive experience of Europe to Asia, the settlement of conflict situations, in particular in Cambodia and the Korean peninsula, the elaboration and implementation of confidence-building measures, and the creation of new regional structures which would intensify the centripetal tendencies.

The Tokyo meeting needs to be successful. That is important for the future. But so long as it resolves at least some of the problems, that will be a great achievement. If as a result the Japanese lose the stereotyped "enemy image" of the Soviet Union and if the Soviet side displays a new understanding of Japan's problems and no longer applies the "residual principle" of diplomacy in relation to its neighbor, that will also be a great victory.

To avoid the trap which history has set in the way of Soviet-Japanese rapprochement, the meeting must be prepared most thoroughly, not in the routine way but in a special way. Specialists and experts on all problems, including psychological ones, must be involved in it. No time or effort must be spared. The stakes in the first ever visit by a head of our state to Japan are too high and crucial.

Southeast Asia & Pacific

Officials Send Greetings to Vietnamese Leaders

Gorbachev Sends Message

LD0109140390 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
1300 GMT 1 Sep 90

[Text] Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov, and Anatoliy Ivanovich Lukyanov have sent greetings to the SRV leaders—Comrades Nguyen Van Linh, Vo Chi Cong, Do Muoi, and Le Quang Dao—on the occasion of the jubilee of the

Socialist Republic of Vietnam, the 45th anniversary of the proclamation of the country's independence. The greetings say the Soviet Union treasures its friendship with Vietnam, which has withstood the test of time. We will continue to strengthen ties with the SRV, and to work together with the Vietnamese friends to make our cooperation more dynamic and ensure that it brings greater benefits to the national economies of both countries. Comrades Gorbachev, Ryzhkov, and Lukyanov wished the Vietnamese people success in solving the task of comprehensive renewal of society and making their motherland prosperous and happy.

Yazov Greets Counterpart

PM0409125790 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA
in Russian 2 Sep 90 First Edition p 1

[Text of message from USSR Defense Minister D. Yazov "To Army General Comrade Le Duc Anh, SRV Minister of National Defense"]

[Text] Esteemed Comrade Minister!

On behalf of the USSR Armed Forces and myself personally I cordially congratulate you and all Vietnamese servicemen on the 45th anniversary of the victory of the August revolution and the formation of the independent democratic Vietnamese state.

Soviet servicemen note with great satisfaction that the Communist Party of Vietnam's course toward renewal in various spheres of public life is meeting with the Vietnamese people's broad support. We express the firm conviction that the further development of Soviet-Vietnamese military ties will continue to reliably serve the interests of our peoples, the cause of socialism and progress, and the assertion of peace and security in the Asian and Pacific region.

I wish the servicemen of the Vietnamese People's Army and the entire Vietnamese people new successes in socialist building and in ensuring the country's defense capability.

(Signed) Marshal of the Soviet Union D. Yazov, USSR defense minister.

Ceremony Marks Anniversary

PM0409101190 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
31 Aug 90 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Vietnamese People's Holiday"]

[Text] The greatness of the feat which was accomplished by the Vietnamese patriots is unfading. The establishment of the democratic state marked a turning point in the centuries-long history of the country. This was stated at a ceremony to mark the 45th anniversary of the proclamation of Vietnam's independence, which was held in Moscow 30 August.

Speakers noted that, inspired by ideas of national independence and social justice, the Vietnamese working

people had defended the gains of the August revolution in a 30-year-long hard struggle against the forces of colonialism and imperialism and had upheld their right to a decent life, free development, and the socialist choice.

The meeting was attended by G.I. Yanayev, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, V.K. Gusev, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, and other officials. Also present was a delegation of the Vietnamese-Soviet Friendship Society headed by its chairman Dang Huu, and Nguyen Manh Kam, SRV ambassador to the USSR.

Vietnamese Communist Party on Socialist Programs

Economy, Reforms Viewed

PM0409101990 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
31 Aug 90 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Ninth CPV Central Committee Plenum Held"]

[Text] Hanoi, 30 Aug—The Ninth Plenum of the CPV [Communist Party of Vietnam] Central Committee has ended here with the adoption of a resolution on the drafting of a program for building socialism in Vietnam during the transitional period and the strategy of the country's socioeconomic development through the year 2000. The plenum instructed the CPV Central Committee Politburo and the subcommissions drafting these documents—headed by Nguyen Van Linh, general secretary of the CPV Central Committee, and Do Muoi, chairman of the SRV Council of Ministers—to do more work on them and submit them for nationwide discussion with a view to their adoption at the upcoming Seventh CPV Congress scheduled for September 1991.

The plenum participants also discussed certain socioeconomic problems, says a statement on the results of the plenum published in the central press. In the past few months new difficulties have arisen in this sphere. Serious disproportions still exist in the economy. The country still has not overcome the crisis, and inflation persists. Furthermore, serious mistakes have occurred during the transition to the market in the sphere of economic management, and in particular in the financial sphere, in combating smuggling, and in material and technical supply. The administrative apparatus remains cumbersome and inefficient. Little is being done to eradicate negative phenomena from society's life, including corruption, bribery, and the squandering of state assets.

Politburo Member Interviewed

PM0409154990 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
4 Sep 90 Second Edition p 4

[Interview with Dao Duy Tung, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPV Central Committee, "during his visit to Moscow" by V. Pritula: "Rooted in People's Hearts"—first paragraph is introduction]

[Text] The Ninth CPV [Communist Party of Vietnam] Central Committee Plenum, held in Hanoi, adopted important resolutions on the elaboration of a program for building socialism in Vietnam during the transitional period and the strategy for the country's socioeconomic development through the year 2000. These documents will be referred for nationwide discussion with a view to subsequently adopting them at the Seventh CPV Congress in mid-1991. During his visit to Moscow Dao Duy Tung, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPV Central Committee, answered PRAVDA's questions about certain aspects of the CPV's activity during the transitional period.

[Pritula] What are your assessments of the prospects for the further development of Soviet-Vietnamese cooperation in various spheres?

[Dao Duy Tung] I believe that Soviet-Vietnamese cooperation has good prospects for strengthening and development. My confidence is based first on the fact that our friendship has common goals and ideals. Second, relations of cooperation between our parties and states over the past years have become a good tradition and are deeply rooted in all spheres of life and in people's hearts. Third, our cooperation is gradually being renewed with regard to forms, and the efficiency of the methods of implementing it is increasing. Here I would particularly like to note the spheres of ideology, science, culture, and education embraced by the recently signed cooperation program. It is broad in scope and at the same time profound in content, which accords with the high demands of the present stage of perestroika and renewal which our countries are experiencing.

I express the confidence that our cooperation will receive fresh impetus for development at a higher level of quality and efficiency on the basis of the experience accumulated over many years.

[Pritula] Please tell us about the changes in CPV ideology and policy being implemented in the course of renewal.

[Dao Duy Tung] As the initiator and leader of the process of renewal, the CPV stresses that renewal does not mean abandonment of the socialist choice but, on the contrary, represents the utilization of the most effective steps and methods of progress toward socialism. Renewal absolutely does not mean the abandonment of Marxism-Leninism but, on the contrary, it pursues the aim of further creative development of the revolutionary and scientific ideas of Marxism-Leninism as understood nowadays and in Vietnam's specific conditions. Above all it is necessary to overcome haste and voluntarism, which used to afflict our party. We should respect existing realities and act in accordance with objective laws. Today we are faced with the task of renewing the overcentralized and bureaucratic management structures, which have long been based on subsidies and have become a powerful brake on socioeconomic development. We must get rid of conservatism and leftover

phenomena of the stagnant past. There is a need for a resolute and complete switch to economic accountability in economic policy in order to develop a commodity mixed economy within the framework of the socialist choice, an economy where the level of development of production and productive forces is the criterion of efficiency.

While resolutely rejecting conservatism, our party at the same time is opposed to excessive radicalism in renewal and to extremism, which may deflect the cause of renewal from the socialist path. We resolutely counter attacks from reactionary forces, which are planning to exploit renewal, democratization, and glasnost to the detriment of socialism and of the independence and freedom won by our motherland. Vietnam recently emerged from war and liberated itself from the fetters of neocolonialism. The country is at the very start of the period of transition to socialism. For this reason economic and social relations remain in an extremely complex position. The party, the state, and the people are bound to take this into account in developing the cause of renewal. The party cannot overlook this in its ideological work either.

UN-Led Talks on Cambodia Settlement Planned

Shevardnadze Praises Efforts

LD0209141190 Moscow TASS in English 1405 GMT
2 Sep 90

[By TASS special correspondents]

[Text] Harbin September 2 TASS—Representatives of five permanent members of the U.N. Security Council adopted several documents recently, which will serve as a basis for a comprehensive political settlement in Cambodia. The Cambodian and Vietnamese governments welcomed the agreements reached by the five.

On Sunday, before leaving Harbin for Pyongyang after a two-day working visit to China, Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze expressed profound satisfaction over the reaction of most of the parties concerned to the decisions of the five, which are regarded as a good compromise basis for a discussion.

The Soviet Union expresses hope that Cambodian representatives will take advantage of favourable opportunities and will soon meet in Jakarta, Indonesia, for forming a supreme national council, Shevardnadze told TASS. This step would be praised by the world public and by all those who want peace to be established in Indochina, he stressed.

'Good Basis for Compromise'

BK0509053690 Moscow in Cambodian to Cambodia
1100 GMT 4 Sep 90

[Commentary by station commentator Aleksey Nikolayev]

[Text] Various news agencies have reported that a new round of talks among warring Cambodian parties is planned in Jakarta this week. Representatives of the Phnom Penh administration and the three resistance parties have agreed to meet again to discuss the conditions for normalizing the situation. Concerning this event, our commentator Aleksey Nikolayev writes the following:

In my view, the participants of the meeting are not quite sure about the result of this coming meeting because the opposition is talking about full support for the UN Cambodian plan. It is precisely this plan which is the object of discussion in Jakarta. Phnom Penh, which considers the plan as the basis for discussion, holds that some points in this plan need to be more clearly defined. On this point, some people might think that the government led by Comrade Hun Sen is deliberately playing for time. However, we cannot agree with this view.

It is more likely that this is because the opposition sees in the plan worked out by the five members of the UN Security Council a way to gain the upper hand. The crux of the matter is the principle for setting up a Supreme National Council [SNC] in Cambodia. Representatives of the opposition, particularly the Khmer Rouge, have interpreted these documents in their own way to read as though the UN plan entitles them to demand three-fourths of the seats in the SNC. It is precisely here that they have exposed their intentions. In the documents of the five major powers, there is no guidance on such things. The plan also states that the SNC should be set up soon but the Cambodian parties themselves should decide on the SNC composition.

In Phnom Penh's view, this task should be discussed at the Jakarta talks. Wanted or not, one cannot skip this phase. On this issue, I would like to recall that the State of Cambodia's government lately demanded the establishment of the SNC on the basis of the agreement between Comrade Hun Sen and Samdech Sihanouk in Tokyo. According to this agreement, there are six representatives from the Phnom Penh government and six from the opposition which forms one group.

Is it not possible to find a new formula in Jakarta as a compromise? It is difficult to answer this question: at the moment. However, it is clear that there is now a good basis for compromise, namely the latest proposal on Cambodia of the five permanent members of the UN Security Council. The chance to normalize the situation should not be allowed to slip away.

Ambassadorial Relations Established With Kiribati

LD0409181290 Moscow TASS in English 1749 GMT
4 Sep 90

[Text] Moscow September 4 TASS—The governments of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the Republic of Kiribati, guided by their mutual desire to develop

relations of friendship and cooperation between the two countries, have decided to establish diplomatic relations at an ambassadorial level.

The two governments have expressed readiness to develop relations between the two countries by joint efforts, taking guidance from principles of international law, above all the principle of the equality of states, mutual respect for sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity and non-intervention in each other's internal affairs.

The governments of the Soviet Union and the Republic of Kiribati have agreed to appoint ambassadors within a feasible amount of time.

Papua New Guinea Parliamentarians Arrive

PM0409143090 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
2 Sep 90 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Guests of Moscow"]

[Text] A delegation from the national parliament of Papua New Guinea arrived in Moscow 1 September on an official visit at the invitation of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

Near East & South Asia

Army Official: Arms Supplies to Iraq Suspended

AU0309112990 Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH
in Polish 31 Aug-2 Sep 90 pp 1, 2

[Report by Wojciech Luczak and NOVOSTI's Viktor Litovkin: "General Makashov—Is He the Evil Spirit Behind Husayn?"]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] SZTANDAR MLODYCH obtained an exclusive statement on this subject [Soviet advisers to Iraq] from Lieutenant General Vladimir Nikityuk, chief of the Main Directorate [title as published] of the General Staff of the USSR Armed Forces: "I would like to say straightaway that our military advisers are not in Iraq now, nor have they been there in the past. There are only military specialists there. I cannot give a total figure for the weapons and military equipment that we have supplied to Iraq, because the Soviet Government pledged the Iraqi side that it would not divulge such information. Iraq has fully compensated our country for the expenses it incurred in making these deliveries.

"As far as chemical weapons are concerned, the USSR has never supplied such weapons to anyone nor has it provided assistance in the transfer of the technology for their production. We supplied Iraq solely with anti-chemical warfare equipment—gas masks, rubber impregnated clothing, dosimeters....

"Our deliveries to Iraq have now been suspended and, in addition, they are not being made through third countries—it is a matter that we are continually monitoring."

Iraq's 'Aziz Visits Moscow on Gulf Crisis

Continued Dialogue Stressed

LD0509082190 Moscow TASS in English 0813 GMT
5 Sep 90

[By TASS diplomatic correspondent Aleksandr Kanishchev]

[Text] Moscow September 5—Iraqi Deputy Prime Minister and Foreign Minister Tariq 'Aziz arrives in Moscow today for consultations with representatives of the Soviet leadership, a USSR Foreign Ministry source told TASS.

Soviet Foreign Ministry senior executives have repeatedly stated that Moscow favours the exhaustive use of political means to settle the crisis in the Gulf, caused by Iraq's unprovoked invasion of Kuwait.

Soviet officials emphasised that the USSR wants, for the moment at least, to maintain permanent diplomatic contact with Iraqi leaders. "To this end, Iraqi Deputy Prime Minister and special envoy of the Iraqi leadership Sa'dun Hammadi visited Moscow last month."

Until now, however, no political or diplomatic contacts between Moscow and Baghdad have produced the desired result,—the immediate withdrawal of all Iraqi troops from Kuwait and the restoration of that country's independence and sovereignty.

Foreign Minister Arrives 5 Sep

LD0509113790 Moscow World Service in English
1100 GMT 5 Sep 90

[Text] The Iraqi foreign minister, Tariq 'Aziz, has arrived in Moscow for consultations with the Soviet leadership. The Soviet Union calls for comprehensive use of political means to settle the Gulf crisis and feels it is necessary to keep in constant diplomatic contact with Iraq's leaders. So far contacts between Moscow and Baghdad have failed to yield the desired result.

Iraqi Envoy on 'Deteriorating' Gulf Situation

PM0509102890 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA
PRAVDA in Russian 5 Sep 90 p 3

[Interview with Ghafil Jasim Husayn, Iraqi ambassador to the USSR, by A. Alekseyev under the general heading "Persian Gulf"; place and date not given: "Iraq: Our Cause Is Just"—first paragraph is an editorial introduction]

[Text] Ghafil Jasim Husayn, Iraqi ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the USSR, has expressed his standpoint on events in an interview given to KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA.

[Alekseyev] The situation in the Persian Gulf region has been deteriorating for some months now. What, in your opinion, was the prime cause of the Iraqi-Kuwaiti conflict?

[Husayn] From the moment the war with Iran ended the former Kuwaiti government began hatching plots against our country and called upon the American fleet in the Persian Gulf to defend its oil assets. For its part, the United States began acting particularly vigorously against us during that period. The cause here was clear. Washington did not want to see a new force in the region capable of defending Arab interests.

To put its plans into effect the United States began making use of the former Kuwaiti government, which had essentially launched economic war against us and stolen our oil wealth. We have irrefutable proof of this. We repeatedly called on Kuwait to abandon this pernicious practice.

[Alekseyev] And yet Iraq did embark on military action. Was it really impossible to find a political solution to the problems that had arisen and thereby avoid bloody conflict?

[Husayn] We made the utmost efforts to remove disagreements. However, the former rulers of Kuwait persisted in carrying out U.S. plans, damaging Iraq, and tried to stop its progressive development. It was then that the freedom-loving Kuwaitis staged an uprising against the ruling clique. We had no choice but to go to their aid, as we knew that the imperialist forces would certainly try to defend their agents and put down the uprising of the sons of Kuwait. The inhabitants of Kuwait themselves demanded unification with Iraq. Their dreams have been realized.

By way of information, I will tell the readers of your respected newspaper that Kuwait was part of Iraq right up to World War I, when British colonialism tore it away from Iraq and installed its own stooge as shaykh. Iraqis have never recognized the border with Kuwait. And today I am filled with a sense of satisfaction. The just cause has triumphed. August 2 was a great day for all sons of the Arab nation. As for numerous casualties, they are the lies and falsification of the enemies of the Arabs.

[Alekseyev] The possibility of the Iraqi-Kuwaiti conflict growing causes serious concern.

[Husayn] The information spread on this score is nothing more than an attempt by certain circles to distort the truth. The United States and Israel have raised a commotion about Iraq's intention of attacking Saudi Arabia. This is a groundless lie. Under its cover the American invasion of Arab lands has begun and an assault upon the Islamic sacred places of the Arabs is under way. We do not wish the tragedy to spread. The Iraqi leadership has put forward repeated peace initiatives to prevent the outbreak of war. We have no claims at all upon our neighbors and will not instigate clashes. It is not Iraq which is dispatching its troops to America or Britain, but their troops and navies which are blockading us, preventing the delivery of food to our population and medicine and milk to our children. The

threat of open aggression and destruction looms over us. We demand the withdrawal of foreign troops from our lands.

[Alekseyev] Soviet people are worried by the detention of foreign citizens on Iraqi territory. Does this not run counter, in your opinion, to principles of humanity and international law?

[Husayn] President Saddam Husayn of the Republic of Iraq has repeatedly explained the reasons for this step forced upon us and has proposed ways of resolving it. He has already allowed all citizens of states which are not taking part in the blockade and not adopting hostile postures to leave the country. Mr. president has also given his assent to the departure of all women and children, even those from those countries which have joined in the economic blockade. As far as the men are concerned, we are forced to detain them in order to avert the catastrophe which certain hostile governments are preparing for us. Nevertheless, foreign citizens now in Iraq are not hostages. They are guests of the Iraqi people and are lavished with care and attention. They are a symbol of peace meant to avoid catastrophe. Now for humanity. Is it really humane to concentrate such a vast quantity of troops, navies, and weapons of mass destruction against us? And where were the heralds of this humanity when the plans to destroy our children, women, old people, and the entire people of Iraq were being prepared? Where were they when the United States occupied Panama and Grenada? Why do they not raise their voices to protest Israeli occupation of Arab territories?

[Alekseyev] What can you say about the Soviet stance on the settlement of this conflict?

[Husayn] We maintain constant contacts with the Soviet side. We hold common standpoints, aimed at a peaceful solution of the conflict. We still hope that the USSR can play the role of peacemaker and remain a true friend of the Arabs. Our position is just, and we will defend it. Reason must triumph.

Turkish Minister on Potential Mediation in Gulf

LD0209092290 Moscow Television Service in Russian
1400 GMT 1 Sep 90

[Excerpts] Perhaps we ought to have a closer look at Turkey. It is a neighbor of ours, yet I do not recall it having been shown on television. [passage omitted]

[Begin recording] [Correspondent Mazheyka] It is quite a coincidence: At this tense time to be so close to a hot spot, in the main Turkish military department of all places, and moreover in the office of the minister of defense. I will tell you straight, this is the first time a Soviet journalist has been here. So let's take advantage of it.

Mr. Minister, Turkey is a unique country; that is no great discovery. It wears two hats, European and Asian. On

the one hand Turkey is a member of NATO, yet on the other hand she has very close-knit, intimate relations with other Muslim countries and the Arab world. Given this complicated—I might even say ticklish—situation, how do you see Turkey's role as a possible go-between in settling the conflict between Iraq and Kuwait?

[Safa Giray, in Turkish with superimposed Russian translation] Iraq's seizure of Kuwait, says Safa Giray, is an action quite unacceptable to the entire world community. Along with other states, we have condemned it and have begun implementing the UN Security council resolution. The question is the extent to which these sanctions can be enforced. Baghdad may come to realize the full virulence of this policy and acknowledge the legitimate right of the Kuwaiti people to decide its destiny for itself. If this does not happen, then even harsher measures could come Iraq's way from the United Nations.

It is gratifying to note, in this connection, the USSR's clear-cut stance. The economic embargo, the halt in the supply of arms to the aggressor, and its political isolation can strengthen security in the Persian Gulf and defuse the situation. Turkey has already on a number of occasions fulfilled the mission of mediator in similar situations. During the recent war between Iraq and Iran, we not only managed to maintain more or less even-handed relations with both sides, but also to represent both their interests—of Iran in Baghdad, and of Iraq in Tehran. We are prepared to do the same now. Our foreign policy is built on the fundamental principle of Kemal Ataturk: peace in this country and throughout the world. In short, we are against the use of force. The military bases and airfields on our territory will be used in the event of large-scale conflict and an attack from outside. I hope matters will not reach that stage, that the bloodshed will be halted, and that our Iraqi neighbor will display good sense in the very nick of time. [passage omitted]

[Mazheyka] Our trip coincided with a visit to Ankara by a deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers. Lev Alekseyevich Voronin met Akbulut, the head of government, and was received by Ozal, the country's president. Chernyshev, USSR ambassador to Turkey, took part in the talks.

So what was the outcome of the talks? Extremely tangible—that is the view of the local press. In the next few years, our bilateral trade turnover will reach \$4 billion, while the present volume will grow four-fold. To help satisfy the demand for consumer goods, the Turkish Government is to give us a second credit worth \$350 million. [passage omitted] [end recording]

Israeli Minister To Visit U.S. on Arab Peace

TA0409174890 Moscow Radio Peace and Progress in Hebrew 1500 GMT 4 Sep 90

[Commentary by Dmitriy Prokofyev]

[Text] Foreign Minister David Levi has departed for Washington on an official visit. He will confer with his

U.S. counterpart James Baker to discuss the entire spectrum of problems in the region and Israeli-U.S. bilateral relations. Replying to questions by journalists at Ben-Gurion Airport, Minister Levi stressed that he would try to use the visit to promote the peace process between Israel and the Arabs. The crisis in the Persian Gulf, Levi said, does not exempt the Israeli Government from its commitment to promote a coveted goal, which is peace with the Arabs. Here is what our commentator Dmitriy Prokofyev has to say on the matter:

I assume that the timing of the visit was correctly chosen, although I also believe that many journalists consider Minister Levi's statement about the need to deal with the peace process between Israel and the Arabs a surprising one. A thorough analysis of the situation in the Middle East shows that the timing of a new peace initiative, either Israeli or Israeli-American, is very propitious. First of all, because the entire Arab world has now been dealt a severe blow and its chances of attaining some sort of cooperation with regard to the conflict with Israel are nil.

Second, the positions of the East and the West have also changed. Iraq's aggression, the capture of Western hostages, and the general challenge posed by Saddam Husayn to the international community—these all prove that the conflict in the Middle East is not confined to the differences between Israel and the Arabs and show that the lack of a solution to the problems of the region is not just the result of the steps taken or not taken by Israel.

Of course, the position adopted by the PLO's leadership of unequivocal support for the Iraqi aggression against Kuwait has dealt a severe blow to Israel's main enemy in the Middle East. In fact, 'Arafat has done away with all the achievements of the Palestinian political offensive made in the last year and a half. All these undoubtedly strengthen Israel and weaken the position of the Arabs.

If Mr. David Levi's intention is to take over the diplomatic initiative and make a breakthrough on the road to peace with the Arabs with comfortable conditions for Israel, I suppose that he has real chances of succeeding, although on one important condition. In my opinion, Israel's leaders would be well advised to display flexibility, first and foremost, on the question of the international framework for a solution.

Allow me to elaborate: Shamir's original plan—I have not been advised that it has been altered—calls for direct negotiations between Israel and the Arabs. In view of the emerging situation, with the Arab world in chaos, direct negotiations with the Arabs are doomed to fail because the differences among the Arabs themselves are so strong that each side will primarily try to curb any progress toward peace made by the opposite side. At worst, the gains will be reaped by extremist Arabs who will undoubtedly proceed to instigate the masses against the moderate regimes and to accuse them of conspiring with the Zionist enemy.

As for the international framework for a solution, I think it will be compatible with the current efforts exerted by the international community to eradicate the consequences of the Iraqi aggression against Kuwait. The East and the West are now taking joint action and acting with one front. Their purpose, as well as that of Israel, is to rein in the aggressor and to prove to the extremist circles in the region that a policy of force is not worthwhile.

In this context, I think Israel has a reasonable chance of using this opportunity to its advantage as long as the superpowers embrace a single policy vis-a-vis the problems of the Middle East.

Reports Continue on Events, Situation in Gulf

Arab League Meets in Cairo

PM0509101190 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
1 Sep 90 Morning Edition p 4

[Report by IZVESTIYA correspondent D. Velikiy: "Resolve the Crisis"]

[Excerpt] Cairo—Just 13 delegations attended the Arab League foreign ministers' meeting in Cairo as against the intended 21. There were no ministers from Algeria, Jordan, Iraq, Yemen, Mauritania, the PLO, Sudan, or Tunisia. In vain the daunting phalanx of journalists besieged the ministers with a single question: "What results do you expect from the meeting?" So far the ministers have been keeping their vow of silence, waiting for multilateral talks and keeping their cards close to their chests until the discussions behind closed doors.

Dr. 'Isma't 'Abd-al-Majid, Egyptian foreign minister, stated in an address to the participants in the meeting that this forum was not intended to deepen the disagreement in the Arab ranks. Its aim is to help resolve the present crisis. The platform for a settlement is well known—the withdrawal of Iraqi troops from Kuwait.

USSR Foreign Minister E.A. Shevardnadze's message to the participants in the meeting was received with great attention in Cairo. The ideas it contained on restoring Arab unity and joint efforts aimed at preventing the regional conflict from flaring up on a global scale are in accord with the tasks which the times set for the Cairo meeting participants. [passage omitted]

Kuwaiti Paper Moves to Cairo

PM0409105490 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
3 Sep 90 Morning Edition p 3

[Article by IZVESTIYA correspondent D. Velikiy, including interview with Muhammad Khalid, deputy chief editor of AL-ANBA: "Kuwait's 'IZVESTIYA' Published in Cairo"]

[Text] Cairo—Kuwait's biggest newspaper, AL-ANBA' ("IZVESTIYA") ["THE NEWS"], has been published in Cairo for two weeks now. It closed at the beginning of August following the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait and many

of its staffers had to leave the country. Now the young Cairo boys selling newspaper again shout out its name, among others, in the streets. The editorial office is located in a building on the banks of the Nile, where I talked with Muhammad Khalid, one of the founders of the newspaper and its deputy chief editor.

Anticipating our discussion, my interlocutor expressed deep satisfaction at the Soviet stance on the situation in the Gulf. It gives us extra hope and confidence that this new aggressor will suffer defeat, as did his predecessor in 1945, Muhammad Khalid asserted with conviction. He also expressed thanks to the Soviet mass media, which have been reacting to events in a lively and objective way.

The deputy chief editor said that AL-ANBA' was founded in 1976 and became the biggest newspaper in Kuwait within a few years. After the Iraqi invasion the editorial office asked several Arab countries if it could publish on their territory. The Egyptian leadership was the first to respond, which, as my interlocutor stressed, is wholly characteristic of its constructive line in the conflict.

"There are around 14,000 Kuwaiti citizens in Egypt now, and they need to know what is happening at home," Muhammad Khalid said.

[Khalid] "AL-ANBA' can now be bought not just in Cairo, but in London, New York, Vienna, Madrid, Rome, Damascus, and the countries of the Persian Gulf. Incidentally, the word 'buy' is not appropriate there, since the newspaper is distributed free."

[Velikiy] "How does your newspaper receive information on the situation in Kuwait?"

[Khalid] "We receive many letters and telephone calls, mainly from Saudi Arabia, from participants in the resistance. They provide us with a complete picture of what is happening. AL-ANBA' is now in point of fact the newspaper of the Kuwaiti resistance."

My conversation with the deputy chief editor took place soon after the announcement of Saddam Husayn's decision to make Kuwait the 19th province of Iraq. I asked Muhammad Khalid to comment on this event.

In his opinion, the Iraqi leader wants to show himself a tough partner in possible talks with anyone. Moreover, the deputy chief editor of AL-ANBA' is convinced, we can now see the Iraqi leadership striving to realize its strategic plan regarding Kuwait—the deportation of its inhabitants. Saddam Husayn will seek to achieve this by both economic and administrative measures. He will drastically lower the Kuwaitis' standard of living. At the same time, he will encourage Iraqis to move to Kuwait. It is well known that he recently issued 80,000 new passports to them, "legalizing" their presence in Kuwait.

[Velikiy] "And what do you think about the presence of a powerful contingent of foreign armed forces in the Persian Gulf?"

[Khalid] "Believe me, this cannot make us happy. We do not like to be under the Americans' thumb. We would like freedom."

[Velikiy] "Do you think that there is now a possibility of doing without the help of foreign military forces altogether?"

[Khalid] "Absolutely not. Arab forces will not suffice."

Evacuation From Iraq Complete

LD0409184290 Moscow Television Service
in Russian 1700 GMT 4 Sep 90

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] According to a report from the working group which was set up at the command of the USSR president, on 3 September the fourth group of women and children arrived in Moscow from Baghdad. Thus, all the children of Soviet experts and the staff of institutions abroad who are working in Iraq have been brought back to the Soviet Union.

All Soviet citizens who were in Kuwait have returned to their motherland.

The working group is continuing the work to resolve the issues relating to the evacuation of Soviet experts from Iraq. The evacuation of Soviet people from Iraq is constantly being monitored.

Commentaries Continue on Persian Gulf Crisis

Unstable Oil Market Noted

NC0409124190 Moscow Radio Peace and Progress
in Persian to Iran 1530 GMT 3 Sep 90

[Station commentary]

[Text] Baghdad attempted to justify its aggression against Kuwait by insisting on the need for the chastisement of its neighbor for violating oil production quotas fixed by OPEC. What was the outcome? The aggressor only obtained results to the contrary. Now OPEC has decided that, in order to compensate for the fall in supply of oil in the international market, as a result of the economic siege of Kuwait and Iraq, the members' quotas for oil production should be increased.

This decision has its own constraints. It is not expected that oil production will only be increased to the level which can redeem the shortage created by the elimination of the quotas of Iraq and Kuwait. The OPEC member countries which were dissatisfied with the earlier quotas will attempt to make the most of the OPEC decision.

Kuwait and Iraq will experience losses once the Persian Gulf crisis has been favorably resolved, not to mention the consequences if it is not resolved favorably. Perhaps it was on the basis of such considerations that Iran and Libya had opposed the increase in oil production but due

to the continued Iraqi usurpation of Iraq, it is extremely hard to accept such opposition. It is difficult to agree with this traditional Iranian allegation that the increase in OPEC's oil production is the result of collusion between Saudi Arabia and the United States. Riyadh was the first to mention that such an allegation [?would be made by Iran].

It is unreasonable to demand from Western consumers, members of the International Energy Agency, that the oil deficit created in the international market by the Iraqi aggression should be met by mobilizing their reserves. In fact, the oil reserves are present only for assisting consumer countries in critical situations. Do the OPEC members have the right to demand that the brunt of the negative repercussions of Iraq's aggression should be borne only by the consumers? I do not think so.

Consumers are already suffering because of spiraling oil prices. The oil reserves of the countries which are members of the International Energy Agency are only sufficient for three months. Consumers will become extremely vulnerable to all kinds of domineering, once those reserves are exhausted. As these countries are extremely powerful, one does not know what form this domineering can take.

In addition, one must remember that the East European countries and developing countries are among the oil consumers which do not have oil reserves. The Iraqi aggression has dealt a tangible blow to their interests. In Cuba and Bulgaria, stringent measures have been taken to ensure austerity in fuel consumption. In other countries, as well, the intense shortage of oil products is already being felt. It is difficult to foresee these countries agreeing to the policy of maintaining exorbitant prices for oil by reducing oil production. Saudi Arabia will not be affected any less than any other OPEC member by the drop in oil prices. Despite this, it is prepared to raise its oil production. This is not only due to pressure from Washington. Iraqi threats play a larger role. The presence of a regime, the rulers of which have no qualms in embarking on the most unpredictable actions in its backyard, motivates Riyadh to depend on its traditional allies in the West.

Only the withdrawal of Iraqi forces from Kuwait and the normalization of the situation in the Persian Gulf can pave the way for stabilizing the oil market on the basis of a consensus between the exporters and consumers of this liquid fuel.

Events Gain 'Destructive Force'

PM0409091890 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA
in Russian 31 Aug 90 First Edition p 3

[Commentary by KRASNAYA ZVEZDA observer Manki Ponomarev under the rubric: "The World Today: Problems and Opinions": "The Far-Reaching Echo of Aggression"]

[Text] One of the basic postulates of the new political thinking—that we all live in an interlinked and interdependent world—has been repeated so frequently and has been so thoroughly worn out in articles on international subjects in the past few years, that it has been considerably dulled and has lost its freshness and sharpness. But now the crisis in the Persian Gulf region and subsequent events have illuminated this postulate anew and are showing its underlying essence clearly.

In actual fact, Iraq's aggression against Kuwait and the annexation of this tiny country, whose name does not even fit on all the maps, has roused the world and set it in motion. A chain reaction has started which is acquiring a dangerous destructive force, and no one can escape its influence. Like ripples in the water caused by a stone, the echo of aggression is reaching ever further into countries and continents, influencing the most varied spheres of the world community's life.

The almost universal condemnation of the aggression should be pointed out first of all here. Events on the Arabian peninsula are perceived in the world as a violation of the norms of international law and the principles of the UN Charter. The current trend of USSR-U.S. cooperation, which is acquiring increasing force, has manifested itself clearly. It has reached an unprecedented level. The jointly expressed rejection of Iraq's actions and common steps taken within the framework of the UN Security Council, where the two countries are not operating from a position of confrontation, as was often the case in previous years, but are cooperating with each other, has played an important role in the atmosphere that is forming around the Persian Gulf crisis. "The military conflict unleashed by Iraq," America's *TIME* magazine wrote, has shown that the "United States and the Soviet Union can work for the good of peace much more successfully if they work together rather than separately."

Indeed, the cooperation between our countries is being displayed in their actions and it has given a strong boost to the United Nations. The unity demonstrated in the Security Council by its permanent members is an unprecedented phenomenon in current politics. This time, France's *LE MONDE* wrote, the United Nations has shown itself to be a center for the adoption of urgent and effective decisions, and this is the consequence of East-West detente. *THE WASHINGTON POST* shares this opinion: "After many years of accusations (on the part of the United States—M.P.) that the United Nations is totally ineffective and provides a forum for 'third world' demagoguery, the United Nations was suddenly transformed into a mechanism with whose help the world community hopes to prevent the Persian Gulf crisis from turning into a bloody war."

Does all this give grounds for affirming that the positions and attitudes of Moscow and Washington are identical in the current situation? No, of course not. Here is the Soviet viewpoint, expounded by M.S. Gorbachev in a

conversation with Egyptian Foreign Minister I. 'Abd-al-Majid: "Political means are not yet exhausted." And here is the American viewpoint—it was outlined on the same day by G. Bush in a conversation with Canadian Prime Minister B. Mulroney: "At the moment I cannot see a possibility of fruitful talks." There are great differences here. The Soviet Union advocates collective action by the world community and its solidarity in order to prevent an armed flareup in the Near East, and it advocates settling the problems of the region as a whole. The United States is primarily relying on strength. It is concentrating a huge military might in the crisis area in order to isolate Iraq and bring it to its knees.

The echo of the aggression against Kuwait has not just roused the world public. American "hawks" have also risen to the call. They have not failed to exploit the situation in the Arabian peninsula in the interests of the U.S. military complex.

This complex seemed to have quietened down in recent years. In the face of the end of the "cold war" and the smoothing out of Soviet-American relations it was forced to come to terms with plans to reduce the U.S. military budget and restrict certain military programs. But then the situation changed as if by magic. How can a reduction in the Pentagon's expenditure even be mentioned now that tens of thousands of American boys are being sent across the ocean in order to "defend Saudi Arabia" and also take the opportunity to punish Iraq? Even if the elaboration of the federal budget, which is already torn apart by deficits, falls into a state of chaos. America's "vital interests" demand dollars, and they must be provided!

Once again, programs for the construction of the B-2 "Stealth" bomber, the C-17 military transport aircraft, and the multirole V-22 and "Osprey" aircraft, which had been postponed, are being brought to the fore. The dust is being shaken off other military programs. The "peace dividends" that were being shouted about so much in the United States recently have been completely forgotten. And what "dividends" could there be when the expenditure on the supply and upkeep of the expedition corps in the Persian Gulf area will reach \$2.5 billion by September?

When S. Husayn sent his tanks into Kuwait, did he consider the fact that he would be playing into the hands of the Washington "hawks"? Did he realize that he was issuing an invitation to American troops to come to the borders of his country? There are now over 60,000 there, and there will be 100,000. And people are talking about a quarter of a million. The United States has been trying to obtain bases in Saudi Arabia for 40 years without success. And Iraq's aggression has provided it with these bases almost automatically.

It must be said bluntly that the stormy reaction of practically the whole world to Iraq's aggression against Kuwait is connected not just with its aggressive nature and not just with the fact a strong country attacked a

weak one without ceremony and appropriated it. In our world, which is far from perfect, acts of aggression are, unfortunately, not so rare. Let us just mention Grenada and Panama. Then too there were protests and condemnations, but they were by no means as universal as they are now.

The point is that the crisis flared up in a hot spot in the world and directly affected the interests of a great many states. Two-thirds of the known world oil reserves are concentrated in the Persian Gulf zone. Many countries in both West and East met a significant proportion of their energy source needs with supplies from Iraq and Kuwait at relatively low prices—on the order of \$16-18 per barrel (159 liters). And suddenly, as a result of the annexation of Kuwait and the sanctions against Iraq imposed by the United Nations, this flow has stopped.

Although there are believed to be large reserves on the world oil market, it reacted swiftly to the suspension of supplies of fuel from Iraq and Kuwait with a steep price increase—bringing it up to \$32 per barrel. For a number of countries such an increase was all but disastrous. For Bulgaria, for example, which met its energy needs largely by means of Iraqi petroleum through direct deals or through re-exports from the Soviet Union's supplies, it is turning out that expenditure on liquid fuel will exceed all currency revenues.

As always, when the world starts to smell gunpowder, the price of gold rose on the world market along with the oil price increase. It has already jumped from \$370-380 a Troy ounce (approximately 31 grams) to \$450, and a trend toward further increases is in evidence. And this is having the most serious effect on the whole world economy.

All this also has great significance for the Soviet Union. Our country is one of the largest petroleum exporters and gold producers. You would think that a price rise on these things would have a positive effect on our foreign trade balance, and help overcome the currency deficit. According to data in the foreign press, which is admittedly sometimes contradictory, the Soviet economy may count on receiving a further \$7-7.5 billion for exported petroleum as well as something on the order of \$250 billion for gold sales. A straight gain? But in our interlinked and interdependent world, nothing is so simple. The industrially developed countries compensate for the increase in expenditure on buying energy sources by increasing prices for their products. Consequently we will have to spend far more on acquiring Western equipment and goods, chartering foreign ships, and other services. So I would not venture to give a categorical answer to the question of what is more advantageous to us—cheap or expensive petroleum. After all, in the final analysis, no one has ever benefited from the exacerbation of a situation, a crisis, or a fire.

These are just some aspects of the influence of the events in the Persian Gulf area on the world situation. The reaction of European NATO countries to the Iraqi

aggression, the prevailing situation in the Arab world today, Israel's position, and many other problems have not been dealt with here at all. We will have to come back to them many more times.

One thing is clear. Aggression must not and cannot go unpunished. Iraq must not be allowed to profit from the fruits of its aggression. However, the "logic of war" which certain circles in the West prefer to pursue, particularly in the United States, could go too far, and provoke a bloody flareup in the Near East instead of preventing it. We must make sure we do not foul our own nest, as the saying goes, the home of all of mankind, which in these past days has come to feel so acutely how close are its

'Firmness, Restraint' Needed

*LD0309152790 Moscow World Service in English
1210 GMT 3 Sep 90*

[Text] Here are comments by Aleksandr Pogodin on developments around the Persian Gulf crisis:

Unfortunately no reassuring reports have been coming in. The recent meeting between the United Nations Secretary General, Perez de Cuellar, and the Iraqi foreign minister, Tariq 'Aziz, yielded no results. Iraq only confirmed its tough stand, and no progress was made in regard to compliance with the United Nations resolution on pulling the occupation troops out of Kuwait. The hope of a diplomatic breakthrough at that meeting did not materialize.

No optimism was generated by the emergency conference held by Arab League countries, either, even though the Cairo meeting adopted another resolution condemning the aggression against Kuwait and Baghdad's attempts to annex the country. It's noteworthy that the conference was attended only by 13 out of the 21 League members therefore it's hardly possible to speak about unity in the Arab world.

Actually the situation is extremely difficult, but this does not mean that the search for ways to achieve peace can be stopped. What is needed now is evidently a combination of resolve, firmness, and restraint.

As for the Soviet Union it believes that everything in human power should be done to prevent the conflict from entering an even more dangerous phase. This belief prompted Moscow to engage in vigorous practical activity. Witness President Gorbachev's telephone conversation with the leaders of other countries and messages he sent. Witness endeavors in the framework of the United Nations Security Council and trips to Eastern countries by an envoy of the Soviet president. Exchanges of views and messages with Iraq's president, Saddam Husayn, continue. Despite pessimistic reports on the situation in the Arab world Soviet officials continue to believe that it's Arabs who are interested most of all in untying the dangerous knot. To search for ways to settle

the conflict peacefully through the use of the Arab factor should go on in defiance of all the difficulties.

In these critical circumstances the discussion of the problem at the upcoming meeting between the Soviet and American presidents acquires particular importance. Evidently the dialogue to be held in Helsinki will help deepen cooperation between the two countries in the efforts to reach a peaceful settlement in the Gulf, cooperation that is crucial for ending the conflict.

Iraq's Policies, Options Viewed

90UF0499A Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA
in Russian No 35, 29 Aug 90 p 15

[Article by LITERATURNAYA GAZETA political observer Igor Belyayev: "Iraqi Roulette"]

[Text] The celebrated Nostradamus (1503-1566), the medieval soothsayer, forecast a curious thing. According to him, in around 1990 Asia would be shaken by "great lawlessness." And it would spread to present-day Iraq, Iran, Turkey, Egypt, Israel and other countries. Blood would be spilled, Nostradamus predicted. Primarily on account of the tyranny of a swarthy young man in whom the devil resides....

And Saddam Husayn has thrown down the gauntlet to U.S. President G. Bush, in defiance of the whole international community. He has in response come in for economic and, essentially, military sanctions also against Iraq imposed by the United States and NATO. And for the first time since the war—within an Arab and Islamic framework. Unless the Iraqi president forgoes his manifestly aggressive intentions, we could be witness to a most unusual war in the Near East. American warning shots have, after all, already been fired. And we could be speaking of the real danger of a colossal explosion in this region.

Could Iraq's invasion of Kuwait have been prevented? Theoretically, yes. In practice, no. Economic problems, primarily the stringent necessity of paying off war debt to Western countries and the Arabs, had brought Saddam Husayn to the point of political failure. The leap into Kuwait and its hasty Anschluss and the threats against Saudi Arabia led Saddam Husayn into confrontation with practically the whole world, as also, incidentally, with common sense.

One further factor behind the Iraqi president's ruinous ambitions shows through. I refer to Saddam Husayn's confidence that he was the "conqueror of Iran" and for this reason capable of challenging the United States itself. His reasoning is simple: Iraq is not Grenada or Panama. A huge army, powerful missiles of various classes, plus a readiness to use such weapons of mass destruction as chemical weapons, already tested in Iran and, indeed, against his own Kurds, made Iraq, in his own eyes at least, the strongest state in the Near East.

Saddam Husayn is as yet confident that the Americans transferred to Saudi Arabia will not be in any hurry to get

mixed up in a skirmish with him, although G. Bush is talking incessantly about the use of force. As far as aerial bombing is concerned, granted all its possible effectiveness, it would not produce a decisive breakthrough in a possible Iraqi-American war. His retaliatory assaults, on the other hand, could inflict considerable damage on the Americans. This, at least, is how Saddam Husayn could be thinking....

The present Iraqi president's main gamble on a "war of hostages" against the United States and Britain has clearly emerged. It was hardly fortuitous that Saddam Husayn ordered them to be forcibly moved to the most vulnerable oil-producing centers in Iraq and Kuwait and troop concentrations. Such a move, he believes, has already put G. Bush in a very difficult position. Recall what losses from the "war of the hostages" with Iran attended the departure of J. Carter, who was a hopeless loser to R. Reagan in the 1980 presidential election....

One further gamble of Saddam Husayn is the peace gesture to Iran.

Finally, one more gamble—Islamic. Saddam Husayn, unexpectedly once again, has played the al-Khomeyni card, declaring a "jihad" ("holy war") against all who attempt to oppose him.

One further surprise is that it is among the Arabs, among the Palestinians particularly, that sympathizers with Saddam Husayn have appeared. The reason—his anti-Americanism.

Negative assessments of the national character of the Arabs and assertions even that the present Iraqi president is a disciple virtually of Jamal 'Abd-al-Nasir have now appeared in the press. No, he is not a disciple of 'Abd-al-Nasir. Example? I would recall that the great Egyptian once went through many anxious hours which cost him many years of life. When, in September 1961, as a result of the military coup in Damascus, the United Arab Republic ceased to exist and 'Abd-al-Hakim Amir, the former vice president, ordered Egyptian forces into Syria, 'Abd-al-Nasir immediately countermanded the order. He could not conceive of Arabs shooting Arabs....

What might Saddam Husayn do, besides his as yet war of words against the United States? His main weapon against the United States and Britain, it seems to me, is now the "hostage war."

I would not rule out a further two directions of Iraq's possible assaults. The first, against Syria. Saddam Husayn has long-standing and unresolved conflicts with Syrian President Hafiz al-Asad. He would therefore by his move on Damascus be giving the "go-ahead" for operations by al-Asad's opponents in the Syrian capital.

A second strategic direction which could appear tempting for Saddam Husayn is a jump across Jordan to Israel's borders. He has proposed exchanging Iraqi-occupied Kuwait for Palestinian and Arab territory captured by Israel in June 1967. President G. Bush

found his proposals on this score "worthless." Israel, however, has responded to what is happening in the Gulf region differently. Aside from the threatening statements of M. Arens and A. Sharon (the latter mentioned a possible attack on chemical plants in Iraq!), Israel demonstrated a reluctance to blockade the Jordanian port of Aqaba, through which no less than 10 percent of all food supplies to Iraq pass. Most likely because farsighted Israeli military figures and politicians believe that drawing down Saddam Husayn's fire on themselves prematurely makes no sense. They prefer as yet to observe the American-Iraqi duel "from the sidelines"....

Now about the Soviet Union's role in this military-political crisis.

Following the occupation of Kuwait, U.S. Secretary of State J. Baker flew specially to Moscow in order to present a joint statement together with our foreign minister, E. Shevardnadze, decisively condemning Iraq's aggression against Kuwait. In the wake of this historic event, which demonstrated under the new international conditions that the world's two superpowers had decided to act against the aggressive behavior of Saddam Husayn, other steps of the United States have shown that the head of the U.S. Administration has evidently not accepted our proposal that all subsequent actions be undertaken within a UN framework. The Soviet Union supported the Security Council resolution on sanctions against Iraq. But the United States is not as yet agreeing to the next joint step with us. Perhaps G. Bush still believes that the Soviet Union, today at least, is not a partner of the United States in the Near East. Constant consultations are taking place between Moscow and Washington on the entire set of problems of the region, but there are as yet no mutually coordinated actions in the Near East. The caution threshold in the approaches to the region's problems has yet to be crossed. Although mutual respect for one another's interests has already emerged.

The United States, as, incidentally, Britain and certain other West European countries also, will hardly, it seems to me, make life easier for itself if it builds its policy in the belief that the Near East is a zone only of its "vital interests." There are also legitimate interests of the Soviet Union in the region that demand respect.

Now about the main thing—who nurtured Saddam Husayn? Some people are inclined to believe that it was the Soviet Union—by its arms supplies. Our entire Near East policy since the war has, consequently, been a mistake virtually....

I hasten to disagree with this approach. Primarily because, thanks to cooperation in the sphere of consolidation of defenses with a number of Arab states, particularly with Egypt, the Soviet Union literally broke through into the Near East. Was this necessary? Yes. Lengthy arguments in support of an unequivocal answer to this question are not, I believe, required. Russia before, and the Soviet Union after, October 1917 had

always endeavored to defend its legitimate interests in this region adjoining our southern borders in order to guarantee their inviolability. There is no need, I believe, to list the whole string of Western military alliances, beginning with the Baghdad Pact, created since the war and spearheaded against us.

On the advice of Zhou Enlai, foreign minister of China, in 1955 'Abd-al-Nasir requested assistance from us in strengthening his country's defenses. Did he have reasons for such a request? Yes. They are common knowledge. Were we right in responding to 'Abd-al-Nasir's request? I shall answer this question with a question: Would the Soviet Union have been acting morally in refusing a young and weak state means of defense at that time?

Is it appropriate to speak of morality in politics? Yes. The more so in that wars in the Near East have arisen too often in the last 40 years. We wanted to put an end to them. Did we achieve our goal? Unfortunately, no. Primarily on account of the arms race which since World War II has never ceased in this region. Its termination is now a political imperative.

Therefore, barely had the danger of Saddam Husayn's use of Soviet weapons (they constitute just half of Iraq's arsenals!) in aggressive wars against Kuwait and, possibly, other Arab neighbors emerged before the Soviet Union immediately suspended military supplies to Iraq. With, incidentally, considerable financial losses and the risk of being misunderstood by some people in the Near East. After all, the Soviet Union had since the mid-1950's been a counterweight there to the Americans and the West in general. Now, however, we have together with the Americans opposed Iraq's totally unjustified occupation of Kuwait and are demanding the immediate withdrawal of Iraqi forces from this Arab state. There is no doubt that for us the world close to our southern borders is too important for us to be able to disregard it. Today particularly....

And those who are today observing that we have in fact earned nothing from arms supplies, as others do, are right.

It is perfectly obvious even now, fortunately, that there will on this occasion be no global American-Soviet confrontation in the Gulf region. Those new times in international relations when Soviet-American accord in approaches to problems of the Near East may preclude aggression in this region have arrived. To the good of all.

So Saddam Husayn's gamble has been made. Iraq's president does not as yet intend ending his confrontation with the United States, which he has thought up as an effective way out of the impasse into which his own country is driven him. His game is somewhat reminiscent of the Russian roulette of ill repute. Did the Iraqi president intend to play it? To judge by everything, yes. It remains for us, however, to act, contributing not

only to the liberation of Kuwait but also to the prevention of further complications of the explosive situation in the Near East.

Concerning, in conclusion, one further prediction. It was made by recently deceased Austrian Chancellor B. Kreisky. In conversation with a Soviet diplomat working in Vienna at that time he said at the start of the 1980's: "Keep a close eye on the Near East. It is there that World War III will start...."

Of course, Bruno Kreisky was referring to a possible confrontation there between the United States and the Soviet Union over the Near East. But then Mikhail Gorbachev appeared, and revolutionary perestroika began in our country. World War III will not begin. Either today or tomorrow. Either in the Near East or in any other "flash point" even of the modern world. And Saddam Husayn's game of "Iraqi roulette"? It will last through the end of the next winter at the most.

Criticisms of Soviet Policy

LD0309221190 Moscow in English to Great Britain and Ireland 1900 GMT 3 Sep 90

[Text] The climate of glasnost, or openness, in the Soviet Union has made possible a closer and more critical public examination of the government policy in the Gulf crisis than was the case in any previous political crisis of this magnitude. In Vantage Point tonight, Boris Belitskiy examines some of this criticism.

[Belitskiy] At the end of last week the situation in the Persian Gulf was discussed by the International Affairs Committee of the Soviet Parliament. Soviet policy in the region was outlined by a deputy foreign minister, Aleksandr Belonogov. Its fundamental principles were listed as working to eliminate the consequences of Iraq's aggression, to prevent a spread of the conflict, to press for a political settlement and, finally, to protect Soviet national interests and the dignity and safety of Soviet citizens in Kuwait and Iraq. While most of the speakers in the debate expressed approval of the Soviet response to the crisis, some voiced the view that the government should consider evacuating all the Soviet specialists from Iraq. This, they felt, would be in keeping with the Soviet Government's condemnation of the aggressor. One member of the committee, Gennadiy Yanayev, went even further. He was critical of what he called the flabby response of Soviet diplomacy to various insinuations: one, attempts to convince the Arab world that there was collusion between the two great powers, and, two, accusations by some quarters in the West that by keeping its specialists in Iraq the Soviet Union as reneging on its pledges to the international community. However, the committee as a whole gave its backing to the Soviet Government's efforts to settle the conflict by peaceful means.

Criticism of the government's policy from a different angle has been voiced in the Soviet world affairs journal

NEW TIMES. The journal's observer, (Galina Sidorova), headlines her article "World Team Versus Saddam Husayn" and asks why our team is on the sidelines. She speaks of how the United States ambassador in Kuwait sent home almost his entire personnel and marine guards, to remain the embassy with a few diplomats. Two Belgian diplomats have remained in their embassy with their wives. Other countries, too, have refused to submit to the Iraqi ultimatum and have (?not) moved their embassies to Baghdad. But the Soviet Embassy building in Kuwait is empty, even though Moscow has not officially closed it. The NEW TIMES writer questions this action by the Soviet Foreign Ministry in the face of what amounts to a challenge to humanity, to the rules and principles of civilized behavior and international law. True, she admits, there is as yet no constitutional procedure in the Soviet Union for placing military contingents at the disposal of the United Nations. Still, she concludes, in the long list of diplomats who remained at their posts in Kuwait, she would have liked to see Soviet names.

Meanwhile, the Soviet center for the study of public opinion has carried out a survey of what people in the country think about the Gulf crisis. Asked whether they believe that the USSR as a supplier of arms to Iraq shared some of the responsibility for the invasion of Kuwait, 38 percent of the people polled said they believed this was to some extent so. Twentyfour percent believed there was no element of Soviet responsibility involved. Asked whether they approved of Soviet policy in this conflict, 47 percent said they did, as against a mere seven percent who didn't. The public opinion polls on the subject and the debates in parliament and in the media all reflect the spirit of glasnost, which now extends to foreign policy, too, once considered off limits for public debate. Undoubtedly, the constructive criticism that is being voiced in this debate will have an effect on the shaping of government policy on this issue and on others.

Soviets' Role in Iraq Questioned

LD0109045290 Moscow in English to North America 2200 GMT 31 Aug 90

[Commentary by Vladimir Kozyakov]

[Text] The Soviet parliament has examined the situation in the Gulf. Next, Radio Moscow presents a commentary by Vladislav Kozyakov.

The Soviet parliament fully approved the actions taken by the government following Iraq's aggression against Kuwait. A statement reaffirmed the consistent line in support of the UN Security Council's resolution on a solution to the conflict and at the same time stresses the need for avoiding force. Many lawmakers voiced concern that the sides involved in the Gulf conflict are building up their military potential, and this was making the situation even more dangerous and unpredictable. In this connection, many legislators express anxiety over the fate of the Soviet citizens in Iraq. Some members of

parliament recommended that the cabinet study the possibility of evacuating all Soviet citizens from Iraq. Just to remind you that the evacuation of Soviet families from Iraq is nearing completion. Soviet citizens first returned through Jordan, and then air flights from Baghdad were allowed. About 1,000 Soviet citizens, mostly women and children, are to be evacuated from Iraq and Kuwait by Monday.

The issue on the return of Soviet specialists has also been raised. There are six-and-a-half thousand Soviet experts, about 200 of them military, working in Iraq on earlier signed contracts. Incidentally, the employment of foreigners for various jobs is taken for granted in Iraq. There are two million workers and specialists from other countries there. Apart from Soviet citizens, there are 3,000 Poles and 10,000 Yugoslavs, Chinese, Japanese, and Brazilians continuing to work in Iraq. So the Soviet Union cannot be reproached for the presence of its workers in Iraq, nor does it contradict the Security Council's resolution aimed against Iraq's aggression. As a White House spokesman has remarked, the Soviet Union has introduced an embargo on arms shipments to Iraq and has backed up all UN resolutions. He called these actions desirable steps.

However, apart from the legal side, there is yet another, no less important, aspect concerning adherence to the principles of the moral denunciation of aggression and concern about citizens' safety. The Soviet public has been increasingly critical of the fact that Soviet specialists continue to work in Iraq. A number of public organizations in Moscow has urged lawmakers to adopt measures and bring all Soviet citizens home. This issue came up at Thursday's session in parliament. Obviously, the recommendation for the Soviet Government to return all specialists home from Iraq will be thoroughly studied. Unlike the recent past, now the government's foreign policy is under constant parliamentary control.

Soviet Policy Defended

90UF0500A Moscow TRUD in Russian 28 Aug 90 p 3

["Opinion Of Our Observer" column by Anatoliy Repin: "Why Look for Ulterior Motives?"]

[Text] Not only THE NEW YORK TIMES, an article from which we publish, but also THE WASHINGTON POST and certain other American news media have presented commentaries on this subject. The essence of these commentaries amounts, in my view, to a sowing in the consciousness of the world community seeds of doubt as to the sincerity of the Soviet leadership's statements in connection with the crisis in the Persian Gulf. At a time, it is said, when Moscow is condemning Iraq's aggression against Kuwait, has declared an embargo on arms supplies to Baghdad, and is prepared to participate in the implementation of other sanctions under the UN flag, the presence of Soviet military specialists in Iraq testifies to some "ulterior motives" of Moscow or, at least, the Soviet military leadership. In addition, transparent hints that the USSR knew in

advance of Iraq's invasion of Kuwait and connived virtually at the act of aggression are being made.

The appropriate explanations were provided on this score at a briefing at the USSR Foreign Ministry press center on 22 August. Iraq's attack on Kuwait was for the Soviet just as much a surprise as for the American leadership. Allusions to the fact that our military specialists work in the Iraqi Army and staff are baseless, for there were none nor are there any there, and, consequently, they could not have been involved in the drawing up of operational documents. And, in general, I would add for my own part that a Soviet officer would be committing a crime were he to participate in the preparation of a military operation against a state which is a member of the United Nations and with which normal (and in the case of Kuwait, essentially friendly) relations are maintained.

That long-standing Soviet assistance to Iraq played a certain part in the creation of this country's military potential is another matter. But, first, weapons have been supplied to Baghdad not only from the USSR. We might remind our American colleagues of a large collection of material of the journal U.S. NEWS AND WORLD REPORT in the issue for 4 June of this year. It deals with supplies to Iraq of missiles and personnel carriers from Brazil, Mirage fighters, missiles, and armored vehicles from France, howitzers from South Africa, and helicopters and computer equipment from the United States. In addition, approximately 520 tons of chemical "semimanufactured commodities" for the production of mustard gas were dispatched to Iraq by Baltimore's Alcolac company. The same purpose was served by supplies of chemicals from Belgium. The list of countries which have contributed to the buildup of Iraq's military power also cites Sweden, Britain, Italy, the FRG, China, Czechoslovakia, and Egypt.

They all, I would note, are today condemning the aggression against Kuwait, and many have subscribed to the show of military might in the Persian Gulf region organized by Washington outside of the UN framework.

Is this not the reason for the American newspapers' irritation at the position of the USSR, which proceeds from the need for actions within the framework of the Security Council Military Staff Committee for implementation of the UN decisions on the Iraq-Kuwait issue? What, incidentally, is preventing the United States from resorting to this method of influencing the aggressor? This would, after all, knock from Baghdad's hands the argument for the call for a "jihad," that is, a "holy war," of Muslims against the West and impart an undoubtedly legitimate nature sanctified by the authority of the United Nations to the imposition of diverse sanctions against Iraq.

Returning to the content of the commentary in THE NEW YORK TIMES, I repeat the categorical denial of the USSR Defense Ministry of the fact of a trip by General A.M. Makashov to Iraq (he has not been out of

the USSR at all in recent months) and the statement of a spokesman for our military department that as of today there are in Iraq not 3,000-4,000 Soviet military specialists but 193 persons working there in accordance with contracts concluded earlier.

And the final point. The crisis situation in the Persian Gulf has been the first large-scale regional conflict since the "cold war" ended. How will the press of countries which were previously in constant military-political and ideological confrontation behave in this situation? Will it display common sense and abandon the practice of kindling suspicion or will it, as before, ignite mistrust and look for some "ulterior motives" among the former adversaries in accordance with the bad memory of the "cold war"? The mood of world public opinion and, consequently, the atmosphere of the restructuring of interstate relations in the channel of the new political thinking will undoubtedly depend on this to a large extent.

The legacy of the long confrontation of the two world systems headed by the USSR and the United States will not disappear overnight. The military blocs still operate and will be preserved for some time to come, and echoes of the old relations and long-standing treaties, agreements, and commitments will be made their presence felt. By virtue of circumstances, some of them will wither away more quickly, others will last somewhat longer, and yet others will be transformed in accordance with the requirements of the new times.

It is for an understanding of this that I would like to appeal to my journalist colleagues in the United States, who exert an appreciable influence on the mood of the public. Both the Soviet and American press are currently undergoing a kind of test of soberness and restraint in their approach to an analysis of the situation in a major regional conflict affecting the interests of both our countries and, indeed, of the whole world essentially. This will hardly be the last such occurrence—there are still many centers of tension in the world. We need to learn in conjunction with the whole world community to extinguish such conflagrations without impeding man's progress along the highway toward a secure world.

Saudi-U.S. Ties Reviewed

LD3108230690 Moscow Radio Peace and Progress
in Arabic 1300 GMT 31 Aug 90

[Excerpts] The massing of the multinational forces, whose backbone are the U.S. forces, has stirred up various stormy reactions in the Arab homeland. Sergey Aleksandrov, specialist in Middle Eastern political-military affairs, analyzes past Saudi-U.S. relations which are stirring up growing interest. He talks to our correspondent, Oleg Ivanov:

[Ivanov] Where shall we begin our dialogue on U.S.-Saudi relations?

[Aleksandrov] Well, I believe we can choose the start of the seventies as a starting point, because in this period in particular, in 1973 to be exact, Saudi Arabia emerged at the level of world politics for the first time. That is, for the first time it played an important political role by actively participating in the oil embargo imposed against Western countries, including the United States.

[Ivanov] Well, there is no objection. Where are the roots of the relations between the two countries, the basis for the friendship and cooperation between them?

[Aleksandrov] In the seventies and eighties some events have worked to strengthen Saudi-U.S. ties, and the importance of Saudi Arabia to Washington increased following the fall of the shah's regime in Iran and the death of Egyptian President Anwar al-Sadat. The huge oil wealth of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia is of great importance to the United States.

Washington started to pay considerable attention to Saudi Arabia because of the latter's plan to benefit from its significant petro-dollar deposits. In addition, there is the U.S. interest in selling various types of advanced weapons in the huge Saudi market. Further, Washington understood that Saudi acquisition of the most sophisticated U.S. military hardware must bind it more closely to the United States, because Saudi Arabia would not be able to use them without U.S. experts' assistance.

In any case, the United States has serious causes for pursuing friendship with Saudi Arabia in the Arab Gulf and the Arabian peninsula.

[Ivanov] But all this is related to the factors which used to define U.S. policy toward Saudi Arabia. Where do you see the importance of the United States to Saudi Arabia? In other words, what is the benefit to Saudi Arabia of relations with the United States?

[Aleksandrov] I believe that in the first place there is an economic factor. The Saudi oil industry cannot operate without U.S. specialists and manpower, and without U.S. technology and equipment. The former multinational companies continue to control fully the markets for Saudi oil. Yet in September 1980 Saudi Arabia acquired all the shares of the U.S. monopolist company, Aramco. Riyadh also owns similar interests in the United States.

Riyadh also needs U.S. scientific and technological assistance in all spheres of economic activity. When we talk about Riyadh's policy toward the United States, we should point to the huge Saudi deposits in U.S. and West European banks. But it is known that following the freezing of Iranian assets in the United States they feared for their deposits there and in the early eighties they increased their deposits in West European banks.

In addition, the material basis of the Saudi Armed Forces is constituted in U.S. weapons and equipment, an

important factor for Riyadh. Naturally, the United States did not acquire all these positions overnight. [passage omitted]

[Ivanov] One minute, it seems that Saddam Husayn's dangerous adventure has led to the further consolidation of U.S.-Saudi relations: is this not so?

[Aleksandrov] Of course, the Iraqi Army is huge and very strong. As is known, Saddam Husayn's army totals one million soldiers and officers, and finally the Iraqi Army has chemical weapons. As for the Arab countries which support Riyadh, their military support capabilities are very limited for many reasons, including the division in the Arab world, the lack of means for the transfer of forces at strategic level, and the instable conditions in some Arab countries as a result of Saddam Husayn's popularity in those countries. There are also other factors.

In these circumstances the Saudi leadership resorted to the intensive support of its partner across the ocean. Al Sa'ud sees the Americans as a force capable of safeguarding the country in the event of an Iraqi aggression. Of course, the presence of huge U.S. forces in Saudi Arabia in these dramatic times is merely the consolidation of U.S. positions in this Arab country.

[Ivanov] Let us go back to history. Is it possible to say that in the 1970s and the 1980s Saudi-U.S. relations have become very firm, or in other words can we say that Riyadh is pursuing U.S. interests in the Arab homeland?

[Aleksandrov] Indeed the Saudi leadership more than once used to pursue a political line which was fully in harmony with U.S. interests. Let us recall 1976 when King Husayn announced in one of his speeches his intention to have talks with the USSR on buying Soviet military hardware. He came immediately under pressure from Al Sa'ud, because Saudi Arabia at the time used to be a primary financier of Jordan. Riyadh approved the supply of U.S. equipment to Jordan and the setting up of an air defense system paid for by Saudi Arabia, that is (?anti-aircraft) missile system. Saudi Arabia allocated for this purpose \$500 million. [passage omitted]

[Ivanov] But I believe, and this is not rare, there was at times disagreement between the Saudis and the Americans: is this not so?

[Aleksandrov] Correct. Saudi-U.S. relations have witnessed at times periods of instability, and these relations have not always developed well, for serious reasons. Al Sa'ud has objectives which do not coincide with the objectives of the White House. In the early 1970s the Saudis entered the arena of the struggle over the leadership of the Arab world and the other Islamic countries. The White House welcomed these ambitions of the Saudi leaders, as the U.S. ruling quarters have an interest in the consolidation of the positions of the conservative forces in the various regions of the world. The first thing on which Saudi Arabia concentrates for the consolidation of the positions in the struggle for leadership is its

status among the Arab and Islamic countries, confirming that Al Sa'ud is the custodian of the Ka'abah in Mecca and the prophet's tomb in Medina. By virtue of the status of Saudi Arabia in Islamic history, they believed that it is their duty to defend the holy places in occupied Jerusalem and also the rights of Muslims in other territories occupied by Israel. This is the source of Saudi interest in the struggle of the Palestinian Arab people for their legitimate rights. Saudi Arabia cannot expect Washington's support for this. [passage omitted]

[Ivanov] All right. Let us return to the present. Is it possible to say that since this August Saudi-U.S. relations have entered a new phase? How do you see this phase?

[Aleksandrov] What has happened following the Iraqi aggression has more than one result. I believe that the unusual call for U.S. military assistance was not a simple decision for the Saudi leadership. In April 1962 the Saudi leadership did not extend the lease on the American Dhahran military base, and since then Al Sa'ud on many occasions has objected to the building of foreign military bases on its soil and in other Arab countries. What do we see today? I believe we should avoid drawing up recommendations for the Saudi leadership concerning the nature of its political decisions.

[Ivanov] Finally, I have a remark. Regrettably diplomatic relations between Moscow and Riyadh have been nonexistent until now. Thus there is no scope for an exchange of views on international crises, in particular regional crisis such as the Gulf crisis.

[Aleksandrov] As for the scope for the development of U.S.-Saudi relations, I believe this matter will depend primarily on the attitude of Baghdad, the attitude of Saddam Husayn in the current crisis, and also the course of the settlement of this acute and dangerous conflict. [passage omitted]

Correction of Interview With Belonogov on Gulf LD3108162190

The following correction pertains to a Moscow Domestic Service interview with Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs Aleksandr Belonogov published in the Near East & South Asia section of the 31 August Soviet Union DAILY REPORT under the headline "Belonogov Interviewed on Evacuations From Gulf," page 11:

Column two, last paragraph of referent item, last sentence, make read: ...to do so.

[Announcer] A fairly incontrovertible stance, in my view, Aleksandr Mikhaylovich, acceptable no doubt to all countries. Aleksandr Mikhaylovich, would you speak in greater detail about the international contacts that our country has been holding recently in order to find a settlement to this crisis?

[Belonogov] Our efforts are running in three directions in the main. In the first place we are concentrating our

work around the Security Council, proceeding from the fact that it is the Security Council that bears the main responsibility for maintaining international peace, and consequently situations of conflict that arise must be resolved through it. Naturally, we are in very close, daily contact with states that belong to the Council, primarily with the permanent members of the Security Council. Our partners in the present case are China, the United States, Great Britain, and France—the big five—that is what we call the permanent members of the Security Council.

Another direction of our efforts is work with representatives of the Arab states. We have considered and we do consider that the Arab states can do a great deal in order that Baghdad might realize more quickly the necessity to withdraw its troops from Kuwait, and thereby open a road toward a political settlement of the conflict that has arisen. Many channels that are open to us have been used in order to set in motion the Arab factor: These include personal meetings between comrade Shevardnadze, the USSR minister and the Yemeni foreign minister have visited Moscow recently. A special representative of the leadership of Saudi Arabia has been to Moscow. Sytenko, ambassador at large and a special representative of the Soviet leadership, has visited the capitals of many Arab states; in Moscow we are in very close contact with the ambassadors of the Arab states, and the ambassadors of the Soviet Union accredited to Arab countries are working actively. Our radio listeners will remember of course that when an extraordinary session of the Arab League at the level of heads of states and of governments assembled in Cairo a few days after the Iraqi aggression, that lofty assembly was addressed in a message by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, who stressed the need for Arab states to step up their efforts with the object of securing a peaceful, political settlement of the conflict.

[Announcer] Aleksandr Mikhaylovich, my last question. I understand that this is....

[Belonogov] And quite recently, (?I think) it was the day before yesterday, the USSR minister of foreign affairs again made (?the same) appeal to the Arab countries. Of course, another area of our activity is contacts with Baghdad itself. Here much is being done at different levels, including at the summit level: no doubt your radio listeners know that.

[Announcer] Aleksandr Mikhaylovich, thank you very much for this interview. And all the very best to you. (adding omitted material)

Sub-Saharan Africa

Belonogov Meets With African Ambassadors

LD3108132290 Moscow TASS in English 1138 GMT
31 Aug 90

[Text] Moscow August 31 TASS—Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Aleksandr Belonogov today received the

ambassadors of African frontline states—Angola, Mozambique, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe, as well as a representative of the African National Congress of South Africa, at their request.

They discussed, in a thorough and frank manner, the situation in southern Africa.

Belonogov spoke highly of the ANC's "constructive role" in the negotiating process in South Africa and expressed the Soviet Union's support for anti-apartheid campaigners. He said the Soviet Union planned to "maintain and strengthen this support in every way."

At the same time, it was said that the "positive changes in South Africa have not become irreversible, which does not make it possible yet to speak of lifting sanctions against the country and easing pressure on it."

The meeting revealed a high degree of mutual understanding between the sides on all issues discussed.

Cape Verdian Foreign Minister Visits

Meets With Belonogov

LD0309170790 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 1143 GMT 3 Sep 90

[Text] Moscow, 3 Sep (TASS)—Aleksandr Belonogov, USSR deputy foreign minister, today received S.da Luz, foreign minister of the Republic of Cape Verde, who was passing through Moscow.

A.M. Belonogov informed the Cape Verdian guest about the development of the process of perestroika in the Soviet Union, and S.da Luz informed Belonogov about the democratization of social life in his own country. An exchange of opinions on the situation in the Persian Gulf and in southern Africa took place. Issues of state and the further improvement of friendly relations between the USSR and Cape Verde were also discussed.

A luncheon was given in honor of S. da Luz.

Delivers Message for Gorbachev

LD0309194190 Moscow TASS in English 1816 GMT
3 Sep 90

[Text] Moscow September 3 TASS—Soviet Communist Party Politburo member and Secretary of the Party Central Committee Gennadiy Yanayev today received Silvino Manuel da Luz, Cape Verde's foreign minister and member of the political commission of the National Council of the African Party for the Independence of Cape Verde (PAICV), who made a stopover in Moscow.

Da Luz conveyed a message from Cape Verde Prime Minister and PAICV General Secretary Pedro Pirez to Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev.

Yanayev and da Luz exchanged information on the activity of the CPSU and the PAICV and discussed relations between the two parties and topical international issues.

South Africa's Botha Calls for Cooperation

90P50079 Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 31 Aug 90 First Edition p 3

[TASS report: "Desire for Mutual Action"]

[Text] Vienna, 30 (TASS). RSA Minister of Foreign Affairs Roelof Botha has called for mutual action between the Soviet Union and the Republic of South Africa. In an interview with the Viennese newspaper DIE PRESSE, he stated that "both sides should recognize that the time has come," expressing the opinion that mutual action of the two countries is possible, which could at first be carried out "without diplomatic relations in the traditional sense of the phrase."

The lion's share of our trade is carried out with the European countries, although trade exchange with our African neighbors has recently doubled, the minister emphasized, and pointed out "that there are no problems of mutual understanding with our U.S. partners." R. Botha stated the intention of the South African government to develop mutually advantageous trade and economic cooperation with all interested countries, first of all the European countries, including potential partnership with the East European states.

Commentary on RSA's Ruling Party Congress

MB0209083990 Moscow in English
to Southern Africa 1900 GMT 1 Sep 90

[Vladimir Valentinov commentary—read by announcer]

[Text] A congress of the ruling National Party [NP] in South Africa has passed history-making resolutions. It was the first in a series of regional forums of the NP that should confirm the renunciation of the apartheid system and discuss the place of Nationalists in the future democratic South Africa before the general congress of the party.

The congress in Natal has (?lived) up to these hopes and made historic decisions. It is no exaggeration, especially the decision to open membership to all South Africans. The necessity of the step was convincingly proved in a speech by the country's president and leader of the party, Frederik de Klerk. New South Africa, he said, calls for a like-minded people to act together. He felt that the foundation for future cooperation should be laid now, otherwise the favorable chance will be lost.

It is true that the existing restrictions on membership in the National Party [word indistinct] predict the course to eliminate race discrimination, it has proclaimed, and stands in the way of an alliance with other progressive forces.

The intentions of the party leader to make membership open to all South Africans aroused mixed feelings. Some doubted the possibility of such a move, saying that Africans can hardly join a party that for decades symbolized oppression and apartheid for them. Others, more conservatively minded, did not accept the promising idea at all. After a discussion that lasted for many hours, the issue was put to votes, and the results of the voting confirmed the correctness of the president.

The congress decided to entrust its permanent leading bodies to make appropriate changes in the party rules in order that any South African can become a party member. Now the general congress should ratify the decision.

There is one more resolution of the Natal forum that is of no less importance to the country than the first one. It continues the idea of unity in the struggle against apartheid. On behalf of the congress, Frederik de Klerk urged all political forces in the country, without exception, to take part in the talks on the future of South Africa, its new constitution, political order, system of government, and so on.

It is clear that in such a multiracial and multiethnic country, a peaceful political settlement is impossible without general negotiations, and the decisions of the congress of the regional organization in Natal meets the requirements of the day.

Commentary on South African Ceasefire

MB0109123390 Moscow in English to Southern Africa
1900 GMT 31 Aug 90

[Commentary by Vladimir Valentinov—read by announcer]

[Text] A ceasefire agreement has been reached in South Africa between the African National Congress [ANC] and the Inkatha group. South African journalists have described the agreement as unprecedented, and historic. They are no doubt right, as the conflict between the two political forces, that is, of the Zulu and Xhosa peoples, threatened to erupt into a genuine war. Over the past four years the toll of the fighting in Natal Province was over 4,000 killed at the very least. Then the conflict spread to the Transvaal and the African townships of Johannesburg.

The mediators in the conflict were President Frederik de Klerk, the vice president of the ANC, Nelson Mandela, and ministers of the Pretoria Government. A so-called peace forum was set up, but it failed to cope. Xhosa and Zulu leaders joined in consultations with the government, but everyone was waiting for the meeting between representatives of Inkatha and the ANC, the forces directly involved in the conflict.

The meeting finally took place, and as I had expected, it put an end to the quarrel which threatened to develop into a national conflict, with mutual charges, suspicions,

and fighting. The final move to end the [words indistinct] of political contradictions was not made. The president reiterated his firm intention to continue his policy of democratic transformation. The conference of the ruling National Party [NP] urged all political forces in the country to take part in discussing a constitution of the future state. Besides, the NP, which was strictly a party for whites only, now opened its doors to all South Africans.

All recent developments, together with the ceasefire between the ANC and Inkatha, are certainly in the interest of South Africa.

New Ambassador Appointed to Guinea Bissau
*LD0309160790 Moscow TASS in English 1510 GMT
3 Sep 90*

[Text] Moscow September 3 TASS—Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev has appointed Aleksandr Baryshev ambassador to Guinea-Bissau. Baryshev will replace retiring Vladimir Aldoshin.

Baryshev was born in 1930. In 1953, he graduated from Moscow's State Institute of International Relations, and in 1956 from a post-graduate course at the same institute. He has a doctor's degree in history.

Baryshev has held diplomatic posts since 1956. He worked at the Soviet mission at the United Nations in New York between 1958-1966, at the political department of the U.N. Secretariat from 1964-1966, and held leading posts at the Foreign Ministry from 1978-1987.

Since 1987, Baryshev has worked as minister-counsellor at the Soviet Embassy in Guinea. He has a diplomatic rank of ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary.

West Europe

Gorbachev Greets Italy's L'UNITA Festival
*LD0309184390 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 1250 GMT 3 Sep 90*

["Mikhail Gorbachev's Greetings to Participants of the L'UNITA Festival"—TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow, 3 September, (TASS): We transmit the text of the greetings:

Dear comrades, friends.

I send my greetings to you and all Italian people with whom I have become so close now, this time at the turning point of deep changes in my own country, Europe, and world politics.

Having cast off the fetters of the "cold war" and authoritarian regimes, new social and political energy burst into historical process. Civilization has started to move toward a peaceful stage on its long journey. Forces of reason, morality, and understanding of the integrity of

the world begin to affect this movement. But the inertia of the old way of thinking and habitual pattern of actions is still very great. That is why clarity of aims, patience, high responsibility on the part of politicians, parties, and all citizens alike are especially needed. On this way to the future I can see that we have a lot in common with Italian democrats and Italian communists.

I am confident of the success of perestroika in the USSR. I wish Italy new progress, and to its people I wish prosperity and the fulfilment of their hopes. I am confident that the epoch of freedom, democracy, culture and healthy good neighborliness in the "common house" await Europe, and that Soviet-Italian factor with its deep roots in the mutual affection between our peoples will play a worthy part in bringing this time forward.

With such thoughts I greet your wonderful feast which symbolizes the national character of the Italian Communist Party, and I send the Italian people my sincere best wishes.

(Signed) M. Gorbachev

Outcome of 'Industrial Espionage' Case in Italy
*LD0409032690 Moscow TASS in English 1806 GMT
3 Sep 90*

[By TASS political analyst Yevgeniy Babenko]

[Text] Soviet citizen Viktor Dmitriyev, a specialist of the USSR Foreign Economic Relations Ministry, arrived in Italy on July 8 with a group of ministry associates, having been invited for a spell at the Olivetti firm. On July 10 he was taken in custody by Italian police and charged with industrial espionage.

The arrest of the Soviet citizen and the case against him and M.A. Valente of the Olivetti firm triggered off a press ballyhoo aimed at all Soviet specialists purchasing technologies and equipment in Italy.

A Torino newspaper, LA STAMPA, known for its close links with the Fiat firm, has been one of the most vigorous voices. It is obsessed with the idea of a Soviet spy network hunting for super high technologies but not averse to pinching a patent from a mineral water bottle stopper.

LA STAMPA reported that on July 10 (July 13 in the GIORNALLE newspaper), "a group of Soviet spies hastily fled Italy, shooed off by the arrest of Dmitriyev". My research efforts failed to detect any group of Soviet specialists returning to the Soviet Union on either July 10 or 13, to say nothing of alleged attempts to cross the Italian border illegally.

True, a group of Soviet technical specialists were sent on a business trip to Italy by the Soviet Foreign Economic Relations Ministry in keeping with traditional business exchanges, characteristic of bilateral relations between the Soviet Union and Italy. They left the country on July 29, when the term of their trip had expired. Press

allegations that the names of the "magnificent ten" were brought to the attention of all Italian check-points, which had been placed on red alert, hold no water.

Press sleuths were not loath to smear the name of Olivetti's Moscow representative R. Mariotti, whom they classed with Dmitriyev's "contacts". Mariotti has been labelled as the man who talked Valente into pinching classified computer information from Dmitriyev through M. Rosso, whom the local press described as an employee of the U.S. Digital equipment firm subsidiary in Milan and a secret service agent.

There is a huge demand for computer hard- and software in the Soviet Union. Many people are eager to bank on it. Rivalry in the struggle for the insatiable Soviet computer market has prompted overt and covert warfare, a war in which the means are justified by the ends—huge profits.

The U.S. Digital equipment firm, an Olivetti rival, popped up in the right place at the right time—so right that a question arises if the Dmitriyev and company affairs is not a well-considered strike against the Olivetti firm?

Sitaryan Leads Delegation to Bonn on Germanys

LD0409155890 Moscow TASS in English 1521 GMT 4 Sep 90

[By TASS correspondent Nikolay Kalintsev]

[Text] Bonn September 4 TASS—A Soviet delegation, led by Soviet Deputy Prime Minister Stepan Sitaryan, arrived on a working visit here today.

The delegation will hold talks with the West German side on draft agreements between the Soviet Union and the unified Germany, including a treaty on long-term, large-scale economic cooperation.

Soviet and West German representatives will discuss economic and legal Problems stemming from the unification of the two German states.

Council of Europe's Parliamentary Leader Visits

Meets With Kompletkov

LD0309123590 Moscow TASS in English 1208 GMT 3 Sep 90

[Text] Moscow September 3 TASS—Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Viktor Kompletkov today received Anders Bjorck, president of the Council of Europe's Parliamentary Assembly, who is here at the invitation of the Soviet parliament.

They held a constructive discussion on the situation in Europe, as well as cooperation between the USSR and the Council of Europe.

Visits With Lukyanov

LD0309175990 Moscow TASS in English 1733 GMT 3 Aug 90

[Text] Moscow September 3 TASS—Chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Anatoliy Lukyanov today received Anders Bjorck, chairman of the parliamentary assembly of the Council of Europe, who is now on a working visit in the Soviet Union at the invitation of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

During the conversation, held in a constructive, good-neighbourly atmosphere, the sides discussed the state of relations between the USSR Supreme Soviet and the parliamentary assembly and those between the Soviet Union and the Council of Europe on the whole.

Both sides expressed satisfaction with the contacts and stressed their desire to further expand and deepen them.

The meeting centred on the establishment of a parliamentary forum, made up of all 35 member countries of the CSCE.

It was noted that the current conditions added special urgency to the need for an institution that would be a part of an entire complex of security, cooperation and stability structures in Europe. Lukyanov supported the parliamentary assembly's readiness to form the basis for the general European parliamentary forum and noted that Soviet deputies will actively participate in order to help realise this initiative.

The two men exchanged views on a number of topical international issues and expressed a mutual desire to stabilise the situation in the world and strengthen cooperation and understanding between peoples.

Landsbergis Visits Norwegian Foreign Minister

LD3108193990 Vilnius Domestic Service in Lithuanian 1300 GMT 31 Aug 90

[Text] Vytautas Landsbergis, chairman of the Supreme Council of the Republic of Lithuania, who is staying in the Norwegian capital of Oslo, has met with that country's foreign minister, Kjell Magne Bondevik. During a one-hour meeting they exchanged opinions on the development of relations between the two countries. Vytautas Landsbergis informed the Norwegian foreign minister about the situation in Lithuania and the preparations for negotiations with the Soviet Union. Mr. Bondevik expressed his hope that the dialogue with Moscow will be constructive and will yield results. He expressed approval of the policy pursued by the Lithuanian Government.

Prospects of developing further relations between Lithuania and Norway were discussed during the meeting, an ELTA correspondent was told by Foreign Minister Kjell Magne Bondevik.

At present the Norwegian Government is drafting an aid program for East European countries. It is expected that

Lithuania will receive more assistance within its framework. Kjell Magne Bondevik noted that the Norwegian Government is adhering to the policy of not recognizing Lithuania's annexation. This meeting was a manifest

expression of that policy. He hopes that Lithuania itself will find ways to consolidate its independence. The Norwegian Government, for its part, will render active assistance to Lithuania also in the future.

Supreme Soviet

Lukyanov Chairs Supreme Soviet Presidium Session

LD0209024190 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
1500 GMT 1 Sep 90

[Text] A session of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium took place in the Kremlin under the chairmanship of Anatoliy Ivanovich Lukyanov. Matters concerning the fourth session of the country's highest body of state power were discussed. The session opens on 10 September. Proposals for the agenda and order of business were approved. The session heard a report from Abalkin, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, on the progress of drafting legislative acts governing the transition to a regulated market economy which deputies will be discussing.

Kucherenko, chairman of the Commission for Planning, Budget, and Finance of the Soviet of the Union, reported on the forthcoming examination of the draft plan and budget for 1991 in the committees and commissions. A report on the progress of consultations connected with preparations for a new Union treaty was delivered by Nishanov, chairman of the Soviet of Nationalities of the USSR Supreme Soviet. Information on the results of pooling observations and proposals on the draft law on the procedure for recalling a USSR people's deputy was provided by Pivovarov, chairman of the Supreme Soviet Committee for the Work of Soviets of People's Deputies, Development of Government, and Self-Government. Certain other matters connected with organizing the work of the USSR Supreme Soviet and its organs were also examined.

[Moscow TASS International Service in Russian at 1410 GMT on 1 September transmits a similar report on the Supreme Soviet Presidium meeting. The TASS Russian version adds the following: "Rafik Nishanov, chairman of the Soviet of the Nationalities of the USSR Supreme Soviet, presented a report on the course of consultations linked to preparations of the new Union treaty. It was noted at the meeting that in the course of consultations, representatives of the majority of Union republics expressed an aspiration for the conclusion of the new Union treaty and the establishment of the common all-Union market."]

Views Supreme Soviet Legislation

LD2708214990 Moscow Television Service in Russian
1700 GMT 27 Aug 90

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Excerpts] In two weeks, the USSR Supreme Soviet session will begin its work. Discussion of the key problem of economic reform, the transition to a market, is on the agenda. At the moment, the committees and commissions are working intensively, discussing sensitive points of the transition period—process, compensation for the needy, and taxation policy. Here is a report from our parliamentary correspondent V. Golubev

about the debates today. [Golubev] [passage omitted on Supreme Soviet agenda, including transition to market, discussions in committees and commissions] Here is the Committee for Affairs of Veterans and the Disabled. The deputies focused their attention on the fact that today market prices for vegetables and fruit are virtually out of reach for pensioners. What will happen in the future? Will the present government come to terms with inflation and the high cost of living during the transition to the market and be able to help the needy if the steps they are taking today are received with mistrust by both the country's population and by people's deputies? This question was discussed in the Commission for Questions of Labor, Prices and Social Policy. Anatoliy Ivanovich Lukyanov took part in its work.

[Lukyanov] The basis of legislation on employment, a program for the defense of society, and problems of calculating incomes are being worked out in order to reimburse the more poorly paid and poorly provided for sections of the population for those expenses which will be incurred during the reform. Finally, a whole number of questions connected with providing for the disabled, students, pensioners, and so on. In other words, this is a wide range of questions. At the same time, the Supreme Soviet commissions and committees are carrying out work connected with the preparation of a large number of draft bills connected with the market. We have eight draft bills which were adopted at the first reading. In other words, the Supreme Soviet's portfolio already has about 20 draft bills which could be discussed at the session. In all, at the coming session, there will probably be 30 of the most important laws in the life of our country within its field of vision.

[Golubev] Recently there was a discussion between the president and a whole group of specialists and peasants. You were at that conference. What did you think of that discussion and how should one proceed, in your view?

[Lukyanov] The discussion was very vital and important, because it provides a practical basis for the adoption of new land legislation. A Union treaty is very important, too, and a big, major law—I would say a qualitatively new law—can only operate if there is a land code of the Union republics. It seems to me that what is wrong with our legislative acts is that they are often being made, and to some extent have been made, too hastily, and on the other hand that they have not always envisaged the mechanism of their actions. Now we shall assiduously move away from this shortcoming in legislative work and avoid these expenses, and we shall move forward providing in the Union and particularly in republican legislation a lively mechanism of the operation of laws.

Political & Social

Gorbachev-Yeltsin 'Rapprochement' Seen as Likely

LD0409180190 Moscow TASS in English 1749 GMT
4 Sep 90

[By TASS World Service observer Andrey Orlov]

[Text] Moscow September 4 TASS—Developments related to economic reform in the Soviet Union, the acute struggle between Russian leaders and the Soviet Government and Russian President Boris Yeltsin's increased political activity have once again thrown the relationship between Yeltsin and Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev into the public limelight.

Gorbachev, like any centrist politician, is under constant pressure from both sides, the left and the right. Yeltsin and the radical pro-reform forces that have grouped around him have rallied—with Gorbachev's consent—drafters of an alternative programme for the transition to a market economy, becoming over the past few weeks the force that is paving the way for radicalising reform.

The emerging rapprochement between Gorbachev's and Yeltsin's positions is advantageous to both sides. Making the Russian leader his ally, at least temporarily, Gorbachev wins part of the people's confidence, enjoyed by Yeltsin, allowing him to continue his reform drive.

Without this confidence, such a sharp turn as the transition to a market economy would, perhaps, have been impossible. Several years ago, this transition would have been labeled as a replacement of the state system.

As a result the alliance with Yeltsin, even if it does not guarantee success for market-oriented reform, will give it a real chance.

Significantly, the Russian leadership's position on the transition to a market economy and on the conclusion of a new Union treaty enjoys considerable support among constituent republics. So an alliance with Yeltsin offers, perhaps, a last chance to save the Union from disintegration.

The Russian leader, too, gains much from his alliance with Gorbachev. His appearance with the Soviet president in a joint interview gives Yeltsin more prestige and supports his claims to power.

However, Yeltsin will apparently have to forgo the convenient role of a "professional rebel", which has always earned him people's sympathy and support.

Working as Gorbachev's equal to solve the major problems that plague perestroika, Yeltsin for the first time in his political career assumes a considerable amount of responsibility for the destiny of the country.

From now on developments will largely depend on the state of relations not only between Gorbachev and Yeltsin, but also between the centres of power that they are leading.

TV Commentary Stresses Need for Union Treaty
LD0309201390 Moscow Television Service in Russian
1700 GMT 3 Sep 90

[“Brief commentary” from the “Vremya” newscast]

[Text] In recent time the supreme soviets of a number of Union republics have adopted documents that proclaim the leadership of republican laws on their own territory, thereby stressing that this leads to the establishment of genuine sovereignty. But at this time the republics themselves have come up against a phenomenon whereby local soviets in their turn are limiting the operation of republican and Union laws and are adopting documents that contradict the republics' constitutions. Moreover they call their actions competent, proceeding from the concept that the entire chain of authority should be built from the bottom up.

Two days ago, the deputy chairman of the Moscow [City] Soviet complained that Moscow is dispersing into 33 crown principalities, and out of all the decrees of the USSR president only the decrees on awards, I think, are being carried out on the whole territory of the state and do not evoke protest on the part of the republics.

A Union treaty is required. It is essential to demarcate competence. The range of questions that the republics are putting under the jurisdiction of the center should be defined by all-Union legislation; and all the rest should be under the jurisdiction of the republican law-maker; and no single law can take priority over another, no matter who adopts them: the Union, the republic, or an autonomous republic. There cannot be “our” and “your” laws, and if today we want to preserve our state, then there can only be one principle for cooperation: equal rights, mutual respect, and mutual interaction. The observance of the rights of one subject should not violate the rights of another.

Secretariat Focuses on ‘Interethnic Relations’
PM3108122590 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA
in Russian 30 Aug 90 Second Edition p 2

[PRAVDA-TASS report: “At the CPSU Central Committee Secretariat Session: Strengthening Faith in Perestroika”]

[Text] The CPSU Action Program on the most important problems of the country's development, put before society and the state and expounded in the resolutions of the 28th CPSU Congress, has been received by Soviet people as a major step in the renewal of the party and a door to important solutions in accordance with the spirit and goals of perestroika. The main thing now is to maintain the correct note taken at the congress and not to stray back into the past or fall back into the old rut.

This idea was uppermost in the speeches of members of the Secretariat in their examination of emergency anticrisis measures aimed at ensuring the consolidation of society, achieving civil peace in the country by political means, and solving basic problems of everyday life.

Participating in the session were: a large group of Communists working in central state, soviet, and economic organs; members of the CPSU Central Committee and Central Control Commission Presidium; secretaries of

the Central Committees of the Union republic Communist Parties; and experts on questions of ideological work.

Today fundamentally new approaches are especially necessary in the sphere of interethnic relations, A.S. Dzasokhov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and secretary of the Central Committee, said while drawing attention to the provisions of the 28th CPSU Congress resolution "A Democratic Nationalities Policy—The Road to Voluntary Union, Peace, and Concord Among Peoples." Achieving national concord in the choice of ways of renewing the Union must be the most important task of party organizations, he stressed. Immediate measures need to be taken toward regular and direct comradely cooperation between republic and oblast party leaders, and the internationalist aspects of the tasks of the CPSU as the integrating force of the multinational Soviet people must be kept in view.

In his speech CPSU Central Committee Secretary A.N. Girenko put forward an analysis of recent events in the country's "hot" areas. He reported the participation of party committees in clarification work on the preparation of a new Union treaty and spoke of the need for a closer conjunction of efforts between the center and the territorial authorities.

The invited Union republic Communist Party Central Committee secretaries took part in discussion of the question submitted at the CPSU Central Committee Secretariat session. They voiced many criticisms of the draft document under discussion and proposed that it be supplemented by new ideas and provisions.

In the opinion of D.Kh. Khamidov, secretary of the Uzbek Communist Party Central Committee, more attention should be devoted to strengthening internationalist education, ensuring the participation in this work of representatives of the creative intelligentsia, and holding joint meetings of cultural figures of neighboring republics and national art festivals on a regular basis. V.Ye. Ostrozhinskiy, secretary of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee, proposed adding to the draft document measures aimed at accelerating analysis of the theoretical fundamentals of the renewal of interethnic relations; and Ye.V. Sobor, secretary of the Moldova Communist Party Central Committee, focused attention on the need for greater coordination of all components of the CPSU to achieve the goals of national reconciliation.

M.Sh. Sherimkulov and A.F. Dashdamirov, secretaries of the Kirghiz and Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committees, voiced constructive proposals based on a profound interpretation of the processes evolving in the localities. Doctor of Philosophical Sciences E.A. Bagramov, departmental head at the CPSU Central Committee Institute of Marxism-Leninism, spoke of the need to train academics and qualified specialists in the sphere of interethnic relations.

R.N. Nishanov, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Council of Nationalities, took part in the discussion of the draft document.

What measures were viewed by the Secretariat as top priority? To take to the USSR Supreme Soviet a legislative initiative on the legal and economic mechanism for administering migration processes in the country and on the defense of the constitutional rights of citizens forced to leave their places of permanent abode. To achieve a humane and democratic approach to the solution of the refugee problem, above all from the point of view of the unconditional observance of the socioeconomic, political, and individual rights and freedoms of USSR citizens proclaimed and guaranteed by the USSR Constitution and Soviet laws.

The Central Committee Secretariat recommended that party committees at all levels carry out, by means of public dialogue and sensible compromises, purposeful work to form an action plan in the sphere of interethnic relations, especially on the basis of the preparation of the new Union Treaty.

The issue of increased political tension over the worsening supply of foodstuffs and other goods to the population was bluntly posed in the Secretariat. It was noted that in cities and industrial centers, especially in Moscow and Leningrad, censure of the extremely unsatisfactory provision of fruit and vegetables had grown. In the first seven months of this year the population had suffered a shortfall of 1 billion rubles' worth of potatoes, fruit, and vegetables in comparison with the planned volumes. Shipment of potatoes and other vegetables in areas of the extreme north is carried out at an intolerably slow rate, and the preparation and storage of foodstuffs for the winter is seriously behind.

Why has this become possible? After all, a good harvest has been grown, yet at the height of the summer the food on the shelves was either inordinately expensive or there was none at all. Among the reasons, the Communists working in top government echelons invited to the Central Committee Secretariat session cited a decline in delivery discipline, faults in the organization of harvesting, lack of preparation for work in conditions of agreed prices, and shortages of fuel and spare parts. Reasons of an apparently technical nature. The party, it is well known, is not involved in settling purely economic questions but does reserve the right to carry out an active socioeconomic policy, one that is understandable to the people; to offer its own analysis of the situation and its own assessments; and to propose ways of getting out of the crisis, stabilizing the situation, and solving problems of everyday life.

Yes, the party today no longer supplants the economic organs, does not try to resolve strategic issues of management for them, but it cannot stand aside from the people's vital needs. Communists' letters, which are received in large quantities by the Central Committee, were referred to at the Secretariat session. Concern was

expressed in them over the critical condition of the tobacco industry and the system of rationing on the sale of soap and detergents in force in a number of regions. The population objects strongly to the shortage of clothes, footwear, and other basic necessities.

In their speeches CPSU Central Committee Secretaries Ye.S. Stroyev, O.S. Shenin, and G.I. Yanayev as well as CPSU Central Committee Secretariat member V.A. Gayvoronskiy, an electric welder at the "Azovmash" production association in Mariopol, Donetsk Oblast, conveyed the alarm of labor collectives and party organizations expressed during meetings and conversations in the localities over the increase in tension in the food market and in the supply of other consumer goods to the population, and the consequent difficulty of the socio-political situation. It was noted that shortcomings in the organization of trade are one of the main causes of the sharp growth in negative phenomena such as bribery, speculation, racketeering, and so forth. Because of the failure to take decisions at the right time and the compulsory shutdown of a whole series of enterprises, a severe deficit in tobacco products has arisen, and long waiting lines and speculation have appeared.

Ye.N. Makhov, deputy chairman of the CPSU Central Control Commission, spoke about the low level of discipline among executives as one of the main causes of the chronic difficulties and failures. Unfortunately, Communist leaders frequently do not show the right example. It is essential to identify not only the causes that led to the deterioration of the situation but also the specific culprits.

The CPSU Central Committee Secretariat stated that the situation in the food market and regarding the supply of other commodities to the population had acquired an extremely critical character, destabilizing the political situation in the country. This is having a negative effect on the projected measures for solving urgent socioeconomic problems.

In this respect it was recognized as essential to appeal to Communists in the USSR Government, the Councils of Ministers of the Union republics, and the local soviets responsible for the state of the consumer market to adopt effective measures to ensure the production and sale of consumer goods, especially food products, in volumes not less than those envisaged for the current year.

The 28th CPSU Congress had stated that the party rejects formalism and the nomenklatura approach in cadre work. The power to adopt cadre decisions in organs of state authority and administration and in public organizations now belongs to those organs and organizations themselves, and within the party itself they are being transferred from the top-placed chains of command to the party organizations, to all Communists. In this connection the need has arisen to radically change the procedure of cadre work in the CPSU Central Committee, in which connection an appropriate decision had been adopted by the Central Committee.

It was recognized as expedient to abolish the nomenklatura of CPSU Central Committee posts. Henceforth only party worker cadres, along with leaders of press organs and scientific establishments and academic institutions under the jurisdiction of the CPSU Central Committee, will be ex officio members of the CPSU Central Committee. It was recommended that the Union republic Communist Party Central Committees define a procedure for examining cadre questions in the new conditions.

The Secretariat session also examined the question of the CPSU's participation in the realization of ideas and initiatives put forward in M.S. Gorbachev's speeches in Vladivostok and Krasnoyarsk, and other questions concerning the party's international activity.

Letter, Interview With KGB Officer on Kalugin

90UF0466A Moscow TRUD in Russian 16 Aug 90 p 4

[Letter to the editor from N. Smirnov, official of the USSR KGB First Main Directorate, followed by report on interview with KGB Lieutenant Colonel V. Morozov by TRUD correspondent A. Valeyev; date and place not given; published under the common headline: "Are Secrets Being Unveiled?"—first three paragraphs are TRUD introduction]

[Text] Now that a Presidium decree has announced him a retiree without rank or decorations, former KGB Major General Oleg Kalugin is campaigning in Krasnodarskiy Kray for a USSR people's deputy nomination. A different kind of excitement will be facing him in the near future: As you know, the former KGB officer is being sued by the USSR Procuracy for divulgence of state secrets.

The name of Kalugin is on everybody's lips, and not only because of his speeches. Most of our citizens think it is very important to know what the state security organs are going to be like in the rule-of-law state. What kind of people will be working there, and what will be their guiding principles? Where does the state secret begin and where do people use it to hide their own mistakes?

There are many such questions. Today we print a letter to the editor from a KGB official, N. Smirnov, and the interview that our correspondent obtained with V. Morozov, another KGB officer. TRUD hopes to provide some possible answers to those questions; we also hope that the ideas and opinions presented in this material will either find support or be contested, and that will serve the purpose also: It is through debate that the truth is found.

"Twice He Failed"

According to a Radio Liberty commentator, a new star has appeared in our political and journalistic arena—former General O. Kalugin.

There is nothing surprising about the enormous interest provoked by Kalugin's revelations. For decades the

committee existed as a mysterious, out-of-bounds organization. He speaks a lot about the KGB, about things that he knows, and about things he has no idea of as he mixes facts with fantasies. But mainly he talks about himself as he portrays a knight in shining armor fighting off a terrible monster.

First let us talk about the "monster" a little. The KGB does have its shortcomings, and people who work there are far from being angels; the committee has been affected by the same diseases that our entire community suffers. But the main point is the fact that the committee is fulfilling patriotic tasks important for the whole country, it is impeding the lethal actions of destructive extremist and criminal forces, and it is doing all this in an extraordinarily complex situation.

Quite a few people, both here and in other countries, dislike this role of the KGB and that is no secret. And that is where we have to seek an answer to the question: Why is the retired Kalugin being promoted with such enthusiasm? Any rock that comes handy can be used in a political skirmish, just like in a street brawl.

What kind of a person is Kalugin?

Let us try to find out, and for that we have to look back into the past.

It was during the late 1960's to the early 1970's. At some point during that time L.I. Brezhnev issued yet another appeal: Open the door to talented and enthusiastic young people! It was an unfailing slogan for all times and nations.

The energetic and erudite Kalugin proved himself a promising intelligence agent, and that was duly recorded in his personnel and party files. He worked well in the United States where he displayed a real talent for political analysis and developed a wide range of interesting friendships. It goes without saying that he did not always succeed, but he worked hard.

Kalugin, for instance, managed to obtain some important, military-related material which seemed to have opened a basically new direction in the work done by a whole branch of the defense industry. But it took many years of work done by numerous experts and a considerable expense to prove that somebody had used a highly sophisticated method to try to lead us into a dead end. This method is nothing new and it is quite acceptable in intelligence work. Usually, after such tricks of the opponent are discovered a revision is done of all the circumstances of the incident to guarantee no further mistakes. In this particular case no such analysis was done, and the case served to Kalugin's credit and enhanced his reputation as a skillful and lucky intelligence agent.

People varied in their reaction to Kalugin's promotion to an administrative position. Some took it as a good omen, a symbol of the coming new age in which fresh talents appear. Some remained skeptical, and not only because of the relatively young age of the new boss. Kalugin's

work mates knew him as haughty and pushy, able to tell a lie; they knew that he treated people according to the way he could use them. They remembered how this charming intellectual could humiliate a subordinate of his just for nothing. They saw how he catered to those in power; they knew it all but remained silent. It was dangerous to speak against him as he never forgave a wrongdoing.

So Kalugin was appointed first a deputy and later the chief of a very important intelligence sector. At 40 he became major general which was an unusual and dizzying achievement. A wide road was open to him now—a road forward and up to the most influential "spheres."

The young chief greatly valued his contacts in those "spheres." To personally phone the KGB chairman or some important person in the CPSU Central Committee and then drop the name casually among friends—these were the trifles that brightened his life in those days as well as later.

Meanwhile, things were not going all that smoothly in his department.

"Facts of the outrages created by our officials—ambassadors and secretaries—were gathering in my hands," said the former general in one of his numerous interviews. I would like to correct him: They were not just gathering. It was under him that his department started to drift away from its main task of opposing the actions of foreign special services. More and more attention was being paid to the behavior of Soviet people in other countries. They were leaning dangerously toward the accumulation of compromising data. I would think that Kalugin should confess his own sins as he renounces the KGB. Especially as he did not simply execute orders but initiated them.

The problem of security within the intelligence service itself faded into the background. There were traitors; it is the bitter truth and Kalugin readily talks about it as if deriving pleasure from the fact that Judases never disappear in this world. He does not reveal, however, that those Judases had been recruited by the enemy mostly through his own negligence.

The atmosphere in the department was not right either. Some people were pushed out of the way undeservedly, others were just as undeservedly promoted. Personnel problems were discussed in friendly, "unofficial" circles. Some men and even women became favorites. Everything was done in the spirit of the times but not in the spirit of the intelligence service.

Bad luck came to Kalugin in 1979: He had to leave the intelligence service. This decision was based on the interests of the intelligence and of Kalugin himself. Were he not stopped at that point who can say what failures could have occurred or what his subordinates could have done. Kalugin was given a fair chance at long active work, and there were no doubts at first that he would use it.

It soon became obvious that the intelligence service gained from these decisions. Kalugin was replaced by a professional, hard working but less outstanding. The people in the department straightened up, relieved from the domineering pressure of the previous boss. Things started to improve as can be seen from the disclosure of a number of foreign agents.

A transfer to Leningrad did not mean the end of Kalugin's career. He had only to look critically at himself and at the fruits of his labors, he had to awaken from the hypnosis of his own bewitching personality. It is possible that Kalugin tried to make such an effort and one can only feel sorry that he did not succeed in it. It is only my conjecture that it was at that particular time that he started to develop a split personality. A well-read conversationalist, the life and soul of the party, an energetic person, full of initiative on one hand; and an ambitious bureaucrat with his pride wounded, stopped at the beginning of a brilliant career, on the other. Twice he failed. He could not cope with his success, and he was not able to cope with his failure either.

In Leningrad, Kalugin could not put his heart and soul into his work. He would lose his temper, he sneaked on people. All these years he tried to preserve his connections in the intelligence service. Was it nostalgia? Did he pine for an interesting case? Did he hope to return? Or was it as early as 1980 that he started to plan his "terrible vengeance" against the KGB and his former colleagues—the ones he used to call in his numerous speeches "loyal soldiers of the party" and "companions in arms?" In my view, the idea of a vengeance appeared at that time, and life itself helped him to find the means to carry it out. You do not have to escape to a foreign country to expose the KGB now, you do not have to be brave. What is more, you come out with a disclosure and new vistas will open to you—other higher spheres that are so tempting to join. It seems he has already forgotten how he tried to wheedle two more years of employment from the hateful KGB. And it seems that the former "companions in arms" are transforming more and more in his mind into "racketeers and criminals."

"Strike while the iron is hot" is the law of sensations. We will not have to wait too long for the new "revelations" of the former general. He has plenty of imagination. Kalugin found himself, but will this last?

Knowledgeable and serious people say that Kalugin's personality is not the main factor of the whole story. Some people tell us not to make this mistake, not to try to compromise him as the public will side with the rebel anyway in his challenge to such an organization as the KGB. He might acquire the image of a "victim" so attractive to many people.

There is some logic in this. But obviously one can properly evaluate the "revelations" only if one understands the personality and the motives of the person who is making them. This might help those who are putting

such sincerity and effort into advertising him to understand Kalugin as they pin their political hopes on him. [Signed] N. Smirnov, official of the USSR KGB First Main Directorate

"The KGB Needs Real Perestroyka"

This is the opinion of the KGB Lieutenant Colonel V. Morozov who left the ranks of the CPSU.

On 19 July Lieutenant Colonel Vladimir Morozov, senior deputy department chief of the USSR KGB Main Directorate, handed a letter to the primary party organization asking to be allowed to voluntarily leave the CPSU.

This 39-year-old person received an excellent letter of commendation at work just two months before all this happened. He was next in line for another promotion. So what could have been his motives?

[Morozov] In brief, it was my disappointment in the results of the 28th CPSU Congress. I had hopes that they would decide to depoliticize the KGB, or rather to separate the party from it. But none of this took place. My decision was not rash. The last straw that made me write my letter to quit the party was a business trip on which I was sent as a group commander to one of the Transcaucasian republics. In there I was a witness as the KGB forces were deployed for purposes other than their usual ones.

[Valeyev] Your profession is to consider all possible variations ahead of time; did you think about the consequences of this?

[Morozov] The interests of the cause prevailed over concern for my career. I have the same final goal in mind as Kalugin—I want to see the national security organs fully depoliticized, I want our people to feel complete trust in them, and I want the organs to attract talented young people to work in them. And a number of my colleagues share this point of view. We have just finished working on alternative proposals for the draft law on USSR national security special services, and one of these days we will hand them over to the Supreme Soviet of the country.

[Valeyev] Why are you talking about alternative proposals? Did you have an opportunity to participate in preparing the draft law when it was done by the USSR KGB?

[Morozov] I had that opportunity but none of my comments found a place in this draft. For that reason I was forced to resort to the only other possibility: The "official" draft needs an alternative—if the Supreme Soviet approves the existing draft, that will signify the beginning of the end for the perestroyka. The KGB's power will become practically unlimited. I am sure that even now any criticism of the KGB will meet with hostility. And if somebody dares to wash the dirty laundry in public, they will start to collect material to

compromise him. It is a well-known trick, and General Kalugin's story is a proof of it....

[Valeyev] Could you briefly outline the basic principles of your alternative proposals?

[Morozov] Our concept offers security organs which will be new in principle; their functions will be much more limited than they are at present. We based it on the idea that every nation has the right to ensure its own security; we think that the Union committee should report only to the president of the country and to the Supreme Soviet; we seek the depolitization and demilitarization of the organs; we want to reduce our ranks by 75 percent and to raise salaries threefold, with part of the salary paid in hard currency.

We do not pretend to be the ultimate keepers of the truth. What is more, our draft has the same drawback as the official KGB one: Neither of them considers the main point—the principle of national security. No such law exists in our country, but I am deeply convinced that this particular law should have been passed before any other. Had our parliament chosen this road we could have prevented serious interethnic complications.

[Valeyev] How much is an average KGB official paid at present?

[Morozov] About 500 rubles a month.

[Valeyev] In this case I do not understand the point about raising salaries and hard currency payments.

[Morozov] The national security service should hire people who prove to be the best after they are tested; people with cool heads, clean hands, and warm hearts. During the term of their contract they volunteer to be subjected to certain privations. For instance, they do not have the right to run a private enterprise, they cannot go freely to a foreign country, they work under conditions of secrecy; often they have to be among people who are not very friendly. Such work presupposes an adequate pay. You cannot ignore the material side. All the incidents that I know of KGB officials being recruited by foreign special services in recent years had purely material reasons.

[Valeyev] General Kalugin suggests cutting the KGB ranks by half, you say by 75 percent. Are there that many loafers in your field?

[Morozov] There are enough of them, but they are not the problem. We used principles of reliable national protection and of reasonable sufficiency. The figure 75 was not invented; it is the result of analyses and statistical computations.

Having shed many of its functions, the new service will be fully able to provide for the country's security with this number of employees.

[Valeyev] What do you think about Kalugin's claim that the KGB listens to telephone conversations, reads people's letters, and keeps personal files on all Soviet citizens?

[Morozov] This is true. I know that the chairman of the KGB, his deputies, and chiefs of local organs all have this right. There is one small thing: My colleagues from other republics and cities who want to join in our work on alternative proposals do not call me by telephone either at work or at home.

[Valeyev] You claim that as a result of some personnel maneuvering the Russian KGB will be manned by former party officials. Is not this claim too daring in our times, as we all know the opinion of the republic's government about the national security service? More than that, Major V. Lopatin, a USSR people's deputy, is being mentioned as a possible candidate for the deputy position and nobody can call him an apparatchik.

[Morozov] The RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet requested that the Russian Council of Ministers, together with the USSR KGB, design the principles of the republic's security service with entirely new functions. I have no information on the work of Russia's cabinet, but I know from reliable sources about such work done by the USSR KGB. In this the KGB aims to create an identical organ. Even more so, the name of the future chairman is being mentioned.

Of course the Russian parliament will be the body to adopt decisions, but as a professional I know perfectly well how widely spread and deeply rooted the USSR KGB system is. I have a personal knowledge of how much the party conservatives are interested in preserving this system.

[Valeyev] In an interview you called one of your immediate superiors a great detective of politics. Could you name him, if it is not a secret?

[Morozov] I could name several such people, but I would rather speak at a closed session of the USSR Supreme Soviet Committee for State Security Problems. There I could do so, as well as cite examples of the inappropriate use of KGB forces.

[Valeyev] Since 20 July you have been a nonparty officer of the KGB. Do you feel any pressure from your superiors?

[Morozov] I handed in my letter to the primary party organization on 19 July, and on 20 July there appeared a complaint about me from my dacha neighbor. A commission was set up to look into my alleged violation of an agency act which prohibits any appearance in the mass media without special permission.

Denisov Views Problems, Changes in Health Sector
LD0309173790

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1500 GMT on 3 September carries its scheduled 15-minute "In the USSR Government" program with USSR Health Minister Igor Denisov.

Denisov describes how the health service is going to change to adapt to the new conditions of market economy and decentralization. The ministry's structure will change, and directorates will be replaced by various services geared to interests of the republics. Medical treatment is free and freely accessible to everyone, but it costs a lot to keep the nation healthy. The simplest thing to do, says Denisov, would be to ask the Supreme Soviet and the government to double or triple spending on the health service. This is not the way out of the situation, bearing in mind the situation in which our country currently finds itself. Hence the Health Ministry chose another way and submitted to the government its own concept to finance health care through insurance. This will make it possible to double the spending as a minimum. "At present we spend 88 rubles [R] per capita, but the transfer to insurance-based health care will make it possible to increase this figure by more than three times and it will reach between R200 and R250 per capita". A sensible combination of health service partly paid for by the budget and partly by insurance will make it possible to provide for those who are worst off.

Speaking about people's health, Denisov says: "After all, it would be naive to think that many of the ills that beset us and the lamentable results we now have in our health service are linked with the work of the health service employees alone. Statistics prove inexorably that only 20 percent of the state of health depends on the work of health service personnel, while 80 percent is everything else: food, environment, where one lives—that is to say everything of which the concept of man's existence and life is made up."

Denisov lists some of the programs the ministry is currently working on: the global maternity health care program, family health program, the all-Union AIDS program, and the Chernobyl program.

Denisov goes on to say that the highest decisionmaking body—the ministry's collegium—should be replaced by a coordination council of Union republics' health ministers. It should be formed in the near future.

"I cannot pass over in silence an issue which, I think, is currently among the most acute ones for those who live in our country—the provision of medicines for the population of our country. The situation, esteemed comrades, is currently as follows: More than 6,500 medicines and medical goods are used in the country to treat patients. Here I must say that it is very unfortunate that 1,200 medicines altogether fail to be produced in the country. Moreover, 1,900 medicines are produced in a limited quantity and the resulting shortfall, as far as the

country's requirements are concerned, is in the range of between 30 and 40 percent. So the deficit that has emerged and that has taken shape as a result of the fact that the pharmaceutical industry has been lagging behind for many years has led to a situation in which, if in the past five years since 1985 the demand for the domestic pharmaceutical industry's output was satisfied by 52 percent, this percentage of demand being met will have declined by 1991 to just over 30 percent. It is an acute problem for society, it is a political problem."

Denisov recalls that in 1988 the government set aside 500 million hard currency rubles to cover the deficit in provision of medicines for the population. This practice has continued to this very day but, says Denisov, it is still not enough to meet demand fully. The resources being additionally made available currently meet up to between 72 and 75 percent of demand. Here, says Denisov, there is only one way out of the situation—not to decentralize but to centralize production, because no single republic is currently able to meet its own demand fully. Republics can only meet between 11 and 20 percent of their demand on their own.

There are approximately 7 million people employed in the health service now. It is one of the main tasks of the ministry to be concerned for their welfare, too. The ministry has now worked out a new concept for paying its staff. Doctors' pay will depend on the quality of their work and the results they get. Documents concerning insurance-based health care and remuneration of health care staff will be discussed by health ministers from Union republics, in the Ministry of Finance, and elsewhere; and they will subsequently be submitted to the government and to the Supreme Soviet.

CPSU Members Attend Political Dialogue Program
LD3108211690

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1430 GMT on 31 August broadcasts a live program entitled "Who's Who," a political dialogue program presented by Political Observer Igor Fesunenkov with V.A. Gayvoronskiy, member of the CPSU Central Committee and member of the CPSU Central Committee Secretariat; N.I. Travkin, RSFSR people's deputy and chairman of the Democratic Party of Russia Directorate; and V.N. Shostakovskiy, member of the leadership of the Democratic Platform in the CPSU.

Fesunenkov notes that Polozkov, first secretary of the RSFSR Communist Party, at first agreed to participate and then withdrew. Other eminent figures also declined to appear on the program. This is followed by biographical details of the program participants.

The participants are then asked to answer viewers' questions. Gayvoronskiy is asked what good the CPSU has done for the people as well as why those guilty of worsening interethnic relations and why those responsible for the anti-alcohol campaign have not been named. He responds by saying that we are all to blame.

Travkin is asked whether he is a traitor for leaving the CPSU. He replies that he may seem a traitor to the party, but he is not a traitor to the people of the USSR whose interests he is trying to serve.

Travkin and Shostakovskiy are asked why they do not combine to form a single democratic party. Shostakovskiy says they have some things in common, but also various differences. Cooperation is quite possible. Travkin says that unification is a possibility.

In reply to a question on what the participants intend to do in order to protect pensioners' interests, Travkin says that ideological dogmas are preventing improvements in the economy. Gayvoronskiy gives the CPSU position on private property. Shostakovskiy says that free market conditions are essential to improve the economy.

A listener asks what is to happen to Russian-speaking people fleeing the Baltics. Travkin says that many interethnic problems have an economic basis; those who cause the refugee problem should pay compensation to them. Shostakovskiy and Travkin say that all regions, including Russian ones, want to be free of central control.

Fesunen defends the idea of foreign aid and Soviet prestige. Travkin and Shostakovskiy disagree and say that it is wrong to be a superpower while the people live in poverty.

The program concludes with the participants briefly summing up their positions.

Party Members Visit Oblasts Before Plenum

PM0409150990 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
4 Sep 90 Second Edition p 2

[Unattributed report: "Meetings With Working People"]

[Text] By way of preparation for a scheduled CPSU Central Committee plenum, Party Central Committee Members L.P. Kravchenko, A.N. Maltsev, A.A. Prigarin, N.S. Stolyarov, and A.V. Fedulova together with a group of scientists and party officials have traveled to Alma-Ata, Donetsk, Kemerovo, Kuybyshev, Sverdlovsk, and Chelyabinsk Oblasts. During meetings in labor collectives and party organizations there was an exchange of opinions on the state of affairs at local level and the issues that particularly concern Soviet people, Communists and nonparty people, and representatives of social organizations were raised. They include the deteriorating situation in the economy, the switch to the market and working people's social protection, the renewal of the Soviet federation, and the CPSU's role and place in society as it undergoes renewal.

A conversation about the results of the trip was held at the CPSU Central Committee with the participation of CPSU Central Committee Secretary V.A. Kuptsov; it discussed the results of the meetings with working people and the proposals received from them with regard to

improving the work of party organizations in the complex political and socioeconomic conditions.

End to 'Closed' Zones for Foreigners Sought

PM0409154690 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
28 Aug 90 Morning Edition p 5

[Article by V. Nadein; under rubric "The World and Us": "The 'Cold War' Is Not Over Yet for Journalists"]

[Excerpts]

You Can Always Complain

The correspondents of PRAVDA and KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in the United States, Vladimir Sukhoy and Yelena Ovcharenko, assigned by their editors to cover the Goodwill Games, asked the U.S. authorities for permission to travel to Seattle not by plane but by car.

Now in general, Seattle, capital of the aviation corporation "Boeing," is a closed city for Soviets. However, on the eve of the games the organizational committee repeatedly declared that it was in full contact with the State Department. Therefore the two correspondents believed that they would be successful. They wrote letters and phoned the cities along the route they would travel. They arranged meetings and agreed interviews. The trip promised a whole series of important material—first and foremost on the topic of economic contacts.

But the correspondents were refused permission. They were told: You can only go by plane. That is all. No explanations.

At about the same time Michael Dobbs, THE WASHINGTON POST's Moscow correspondent, was trying to get through to the city of Sverdlovsk.

Sverdlovsk is also by no means the least important spoke in our defense wheel. True, no Goodwill Games were being held here, so in this sense Sverdlovsk is of course not Seattle which recently hosted more than 5,000 Soviet guests.

However, even "closed" Sverdlovsk has been visited by a fair number of foreigners. One foreigner more or less—tell me, what kind of hole does this make in the USSR's defenses?

It should be noted that even before this, Dobbs had made numerous attempts to penetrate places where, in the opinion of our vigilant authorities, he was not supposed to go. For example the city of Kaliningrad, formerly Koenigsberg.

Readers will know of the main conflict in this city from a recent article in IZVESTIYA. The soviet authorities want to create a free trade zone here, whereas the military want to keep the zone free from free trade. Under the Constitution, all power belongs to the soviets.

However the military turns out to have even more power. Whose power will win out?

This question diverted our Washington colleague too, but a little earlier. However, he was not allowed to scoop IZVESTIYA. He was not allowed to go to Kaliningrad. Although IZVESTIYA is beside the point here, of course. No one asks us our opinion.

Dobbs insisted to no avail that a group of West German businessmen had visited Kaliningrad just before, thereby violating the virginal secrecy of the local places. In vain he brandished an invitation sent by the Kaliningrad City Soviet of People's Deputies. The correspondent was told at the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs Press Administration that the aforesaid invitation was invalid since the oblast soviet objected to the American's visit. Germans the oblast soviet can stand, they said, but Americans—no way.

In preparing to go to Sverdlovsk, Dobbs took account of his previous mistakes. He obtained invitations from both the city and the oblast soviets. Furthermore, he enlisted the support of the team of B.N. Yeltsin who can today be considered the most powerful native of Sverdlovsk in the USSR.

It did not help. The journalist was told that the local authorities' decisions—unlike in the case of Kaliningrad—are not sufficient. The permission of the governmental organization which "closed" Sverdlovsk is also needed. But which organization this was, the Ministry of Internal Affairs Press Administration did not tell the American. On the other hand, they promised to "thoroughly examine this question again with the officials concerned."

"The battle against bureaucracy here (in Moscow) is rather like beating your head against a brick wall," Michael Dobbs wrote in THE WASHINGTON POST. "You usually do yourself more damage than the wall." [passage omitted]

A Kettle for an Iceberg

[Passage omitted] The heart of the matter is this. Perhaps the "cold war" no longer exists, but its officers and infantrymen, its headquarters and its material supplies still do. These are inventive organizations, they invent no end of reasons and pretexts for pouring a gigantic "cold war" iceberg out of a kettle in a thin stream—there is plenty of work and they themselves have a job to do.

One widely held opinion is that if you do not allow journalists into "hot" spots, a nice cool breeze will blow there. It is difficult to think of anything that could be further from the truth.

Three years ago the then chief editor of IZVESTIYA brought us a direct order from the all-powerful Ye.K. Ligachev: Not a word about Nagorno-Karabakh in the newspaper. And the justification for this: If we write about it people will be killed there.

For almost a year there was not a single line about it in the newspaper which did not prevent Sumgait. After much heartache they resigned themselves to tolerating their own hacks. But foreigners! No way!

All this year I have observed from Washington the dynamics of the coverage of events in Lithuania in the U.S. press. I will mention just one constant feature: When there were no foreign correspondents in Vilnius because of the administrative ban, the tone of the U.S. media toward Moscow was far more aggressive than a month later when Vilnius was "opened."

From the professional journalist's point of view there is nothing strange about this. If the editors require from you certain material, then you will give it to them come what may, by hook or by crook and at the required time, on the required theme, in the required volume. You are not allowed to collect reliable information? You make use of hints, guesses, and rumors. But the nature of rumors is such that they are always crude, black and white, extreme. Moreover a reporter whose access to sources of information is deliberately restricted does not feel responsible for the accuracy of his reports.

Did the ban on publication in IZVESTIYA help promote peace in Karabakh? Did the situation in Lithuania improve after foreign reporters were thrown out? Do we have more faith now that open Yerevan is closed? Will the government realize that more sympathy and trust is given to open Ulster than to closed Osh?

Last fall at the Wyoming meeting, U.S. Secretary of State J. Baker proposed to USSR Foreign Minister E. Shevardnadze the so-called open land plan—by analogy with "open sky," with which we agree, and "open sea," which we are demanding.

The gist of the plan is that the territories of both superpowers become free for travel for all, including journalists and diplomats.

In late April, shortly before M.S. Gorbachev's visit to the United States, the Soviet side officially informed its partners that it refuses to discuss "open land." Some individual measures are all well and good, but in general to open everything to everyone is impossible. Or at least, it is too early.

If you do not want the overall policy there will be no individual measures either, the Americans replied. And the vicious circle closed.

Let Us Climb Out of the Trench!

Mankind has accumulated solid experience of peace treaties and armistices after conventional wars. Soldiers climb out of the trenches, guns fall silent, armies go home. This signifies the end of the war.

The "cold war" has just ended. In sequence, it was the first; in scale, it was a world war. Cold World War I.

But what does its end mean? And where is the boundary?

Professional armies of course are being decreased, but not to a significant extent. The Iraqi crisis confirms that countries need serious military might. Hopes for the complete elimination of nuclear weapons remain illusory. The guns were silent all along. There were no trenches as such.

The main sign of the end of the "cold war" will not be the embraces of leaders, however warm and sincere they may be, but the degree of openness of the societies to each other. And conversely, nothing instills nostalgia for the good old days of suspicion like closed zones.

Michael Dobbs believes that his government must demonstrate an initiative. "In order to break the vicious circle, I would like to submit a proposal which would deprive Moscow of the opportunity to justify marking time. The U.S. Administration should ease travel restrictions on accredited Soviet journalists for a trial period of say six months. If the Kremlin responds, excellent. If the Kremlin responds only partially or does not respond at all, then mutual restrictions can be restored."

The proposal sounds tempting, but I fear it. I fear that our high priests of vigilance will dream up a thousand and one reasons to justify having their crust of bread and butter presented to them on a plate. I fear that the perceived interest of both bureaucratic apparatuses will smash like a battering ram through the thin film of public activity. Finally, a unilateral U.S. concession could strengthen the positions of some of our "hardliners" who would try to ascribe the success to their tough standpoint.

The bureaucratic restrictions race appears to be a mere triviality in comparison with the destructive arms race. However its consequences can also be severe. It affects both sides, albeit in different ways. But the role of a free press is equally great for both.

Many prejudices exist in our country regarding the United States. One of the most tenacious, although essentially absurd, is the claim that the United States wants to go to war with us. It is pointless to object, brandishing the facts. Facts are simply driven out of the consciousness by the mighty propaganda inertia of decades.

There is one way out: to write the truth about this country day after day. The truth, drawn directly from life—this is the readers' categorical demand.

Readers in America feel the same needs with one addition, which is especially important for us at the present time.

In that country there is no Gosplan [State Planning Committee] or State Bank, no one who can order a person to take money out of his pocket and loan it to the USSR. Or not to the whole USSR but to a Soviet shoe factory. Or not to the whole factory but to the cooperative that makes the heels. These are questions directly connected with the risk, the danger of losing what one

has earned with the temptation of obtaining a good return—all this people decide for themselves and each man for himself.

How do they decide? In a variety of ways. But above all by reading the newspaper, listening to the radio, and watching the television. The openness of a society inspires trust. Closedness frightens off depositors, sponsors, and investors. Because people do not like it when they are not allowed to look at where their own money is.

But the principal trouble with closedness is not that it is unprofitable. This perhaps could be endured. The main thing is that it is shameful. It is shameful that, for journalists in Moscow and Washington, the "cold war" is still far from over.

Commission Member Reveals Gulag Statistics

90US1299A Moscow ARGUMENTY I FAKTY
in Russian No 35, 1-7 Sep 90 p 4

[Report on ARGUMENTY I FAKTY interview with V. Zemskov, senior scientific associate at the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of History: "Documents of the Time of Tragedy: The Archives Yield Up Their Secrets"]

[Text] In ARGUMENTY I FAKTY No. 45 of 1989, an interview was published with V. Zemskov, senior scientific associate at the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of History, under the title "The Gulag Archipelago: Through the Eyes of the Writer and of the Statistics." In addition, in issues Nos. 38, 39, and 40 of 1989 and No. 5 of 1990, ARGUMENTY I FAKTY published the results of a check on and the processing of prisoners of war and those who were surrounded as of 1 October 1944; the number of special deportees and deportees, and exiled and transported persons as of 1 January 1953; and the total number of persons convicted for "counter-revolutionary crimes" during the period 1921-1953.

ARGUMENTY I FAKTY has received several hundred letters about these pieces, with a large number of questions. We asked V. Zemskov to respond to them.

[ARGUMENTY I FAKTY] Viktor Nikolayevich, first of all readers are interested in knowing how you obtained access to the secret documents.

[Zemskov] Early in 1989, on assignment from the USSR Academy of Sciences History Department presidium, a commission was set up headed by Yu. Polyakov, corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences, to investigate the true losses sustained by the population of the USSR. This circumstance significantly facilitated my access to documents marked "Top Secret." But by no means to all of them.

[ARGUMENTY I FAKTY] Ya. Eydus from Riga writes this: "It is impossible to forget the fuss that was once made about Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt when, during her trip to the USSR, the Gulag administration showed her 'Potemkin villages'; the legends about this circulated for

years. However, the high-level guest was rather more critical toward what she saw than were the authors in ARGUMENTY I FAKTY. Mrs. Roosevelt managed to obtain her own information which she presented to a session of the United Nations and the world in 1950. According to what she said, something on the order of 20 million persons were confined in the Gulag. Oh, and how she was resented for her 'fairy stories' from the Gulag! Oh, and what PRAVDA said about her with its best feelings so insulted! In the words of the PRAVDA article, the camps contained only a small number of those who had betrayed the motherland and were enemies of the people. What is your comment on this?"

[Zemskov] As of 1 January 1950 the Gulag contained 2,561,351 prisoners—1,416,300 in the camps and 1,145,051 in the penal colonies—of whom 578,912 or 22.7 percent had been convicted of counterrevolutionary crimes, that is under Article 58 (most of those convicted under Article 58 were innocent victims of the Stalinist repressions and a minority of them were real traitors to the motherland: the Vlasov people, the Polizei, those engaged in carrying out punitive measures, the burgomasters, graduates of the German intelligence and sabotage schools, Gestapo agents, the Sigurantsa [Romanian secret police] people, and so forth). According to the figures, in December 1948 a total of 230,614 convicted persons and persons under investigation were being held in prisons in the USSR. As of 1 January 1950, 2,660,040 people were in exile and banishment in special settlements. Thus, by early 1950 the total number of prisoners, special deportees, those exiled to particular settlements, and those exiled and banished was 5.5 million.

When she cited the figure of 20 million, Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt had in mind only those prisoners—not counting the special deportees, those exiled to particular settlements, and those exiled and banished—who in reality totaled about 2.8 million persons at that time. The figure quoted by Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt was exaggerated by a factor of seven! It was a propaganda ploy aimed at creating a situation in which, if the cold war turned hot, that is if a third world war should start, the combat actions of the Western powers against the Soviet Union which might entail defeat would appear in world opinion as a "mission of liberation."

The official rejection of this statement by PRAVDA and the claim that only "a small number of those who betrayed the motherland and were enemies of the people" were imprisoned in the USSR was also a propaganda ploy, but on the other side. Here the task was to hide from world opinion the fact that hundreds of thousands of innocent victims of the repressions had been deprived of their freedom, and to remove totally any possible pretext for the Western powers to unleash a third world war as a "mission of liberation."

[ARGUMENTY I FAKTY] Many people are interested in knowing whether or not you have information on the national makeup of those confined in the Gulag.

[Zemskov] As of 1 January 1939 the 1,317,195 persons confined in Gulag camps included 830,491 Russians; 181,905 Ukrainians; 44,785 Belorussians; 21,891 Tatars; 24,499 Uzbeks; 19,758 Jews; 18,572 Germans; 17,123 Kazakhs; 16,860 Poles; 11,723 Georgians; 11,064 Armenians; 9,352 Turkmen; 4,874 Bashkirs; 4,347 Tajiks; and another 96,948 persons representing more than 100 other different nationalities. The age makeup of Gulag prisoners was as follows (as of 1 March 1940): younger than 18, 1.2 percent; 18-21, 9.3 percent; 22-40, 63.6 percent; 41-50, 16.2 percent; and older than 50, 9.7 percent. At the start of the Great Patriotic War, men made up 93 percent of Gulag prisoners and women 7 percent; in July 1944 these figures were 74 percent and 26 percent respectively.

[ARGUMENTY I FAKTY] L. Batovskiy from Novgorod, I. Ilin from Magnitogorsk, and others ask when hard-labor prisoners appeared in the USSR?

[Zemskov] In accordance with the 22 April 1943 USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium ukase "On Punishment Measures for Traitors to the Motherland and Betrayers, and on Introducing Punishment Such as Hard Labor for Such Persons," the USSR NKVD organized hard-labor divisions in the Vorkuta and Northeast camps, establishing a special regime that insured compliance with the requirements of the ukase concerning strict isolation of those condemned to hard labor: a longer work day was introduced, and also the use of hard-labor prisoners for heavy work underground in coal mines and to recover gold and tin. By July 1944 some 5,200 hard-labor prisoners were being held in the corrective labor camps, and by September 1947 the figure was 60,021.

Film Says Civilians Used as Nuclear 'Guinea Pigs'

LD3109203590 Moscow TASS in English 1510 GMT
31 Aug 90

[By TASS correspondents Maksim Knyazkov and Yuriy Rublevskiy]

[Text] Moscow August 31 TASS—People living around the Soviet Semipalatinsk test-site were used as unwitting guinea pigs in experiments in the 50's and 60's to gauge the health hazards of nuclear explosions, a new film says. The film "The Range" made by Kazakh cinematographers Oraz Rymzhano and Vladimir Roerich was shown at the Soviet Peace Committee in Moscow. The film has not yet been released for distribution.

The film-makers refer to statements of a number of residents of Karaul village near the Semipalatinsk range. They said that the military did not always inform the population of the forthcoming tests. Local residents were not evacuated. The film-makers think this might have been done deliberately.

"In 1953, we saw a bright flare on the horizon," recalled Talgat Slembekov, a resident in Karaul. "Sometime later the military in gas masks and protective uniforms

arrived at the village and evacuated its residents to a nearby city, where they underwent medical checks."

Without making direct accusations, the makers of the film suggest that the military used local residents as unwitting guinea pigs.

The film also presents the opposite side of the story. Representative of the General Staff of the Soviet Armed Forces, Colonel-General Vladimir Gerasimov and chief of the Semipalatinsk range Lieutenant-General Arkadiy Ilyenko reject suggestions that humans were deliberately exposed to radiation. At the same time, they do not rule out that after the evacuation someone might have stayed in the danger zone voluntarily.

General Ilyenko criticised the activity of the Nevada-Semipalatinsk public movement which accuses the Defence Ministry of neglecting the health of local residents. This movement participated in the making of the film. General Ilyenko regards this movement as unpatriotic.

Lieutenant-General Sergey Zelentsov, deputy chief of the main board of the USSR Defence Ministry, participated in the test of a hydrogen bomb in August 1953. He told TASS that the allegations contain no truth.

The general said that accusations of experimentation on humans had been rejected even by Academician Andrey Sakharov. The documents related to the preparation and staging of explosions in 1953 show that largely due to Andrey Sakharov's principles, scruples, and conscientiousness everything was done to prevent hazards to humans.

Navy Criticized for White Sea Pollution

*PM3008152790 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
30 Aug 90 Morning Edition p 3*

["Interfax" report: "What is Lying on the Bed of the White Sea?"]

[Text] Aleksey Yablokov, deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Ecology Commission, has visited the ecological disaster area in the White Sea. He expressed the view that previous commissions investigating the causes of the tragedy in the White Sea had been "scared to aggravate relations with the military-industrial complex."

"We have no knowledge at all of the volume and composition of the pollution from naval bases," he said. "The scrappy data appearing in the press indicate that the pollution, particularly by heavy metals, is very serious. According to available information there are two areas of the White Sea where toxic substances have been buried. Ships are not allowed to drop anchor there. What is lying on the bed of the White Sea? What state is the environment in? Only the military know this. Scientists no longer know anything." "When the military keep mum about what pollutant experts should be seeking they are behaving immorally," A. Yablokov stressed.

Attitudes of Rights Conference Members Criticized

*PM0409140990 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
3 Sep 90 Second Edition p 2*

[Report by unnamed correspondent: "Democracy and Human Rights"]

[Text] Leningrad 2 Sep—The "Vilnius-Leningrad" international human rights conference has opened here.

It was convened on the initiative of social movements and is a nongovernmental event.

The guests were welcomed by A. Sobchak, chairman of the Leningrad City Soviet. He noted in particular that there are two threats to perestroika and democratic transformations in our country—ethnic contradictions, bloodshed "for the sake of democracy," and pathological intolerance of political opponents. These two dangers can only be overcome if all progressive forces unite and if opponents respect each other and cooperate for the sake of the common good.

Incidentally, with regard to mutual respect, the previous day the conference participants received from the CPSU obkom [oblast party committee] plenum a greetings telegram which was published in the press. However, the organizers did not consider it necessary to read it out. This was probably because the conference secretariat was mainly composed of members of the Democratic Union—a party whose Leningrad members are displaying in every possible way the kind of intolerance and even hatred of the CPSU which, as was stated from the rostrum, should not exist in a democratic state.

V. Landsbergis, chairman of the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet, then spoke. He unexpectedly concluded his long speech with a hostile passage attacking PRAVDA. But for some reason he did not cite a single argument to back up his position. Clearly, this too is a tradition.

Mothers Demand Sons' Return From 'Hot Spots'

*LD0209140790 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 1205 GMT 2 Sep 90*

[Report by correspondent Inna Biryukova]

[Text] Volgograd, 2 September TASS—Svetlana Umetskaya, a Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] people's deputy, today brought an address to the Russian Supreme Soviet session, opening on Monday, with the demand from soldiers' mothers of Volgograd Oblast that their children should be returned from regions of ethnic conflict. The document, on which there are more than 35,000 signatures, was adopted at an unsanctioned meeting which took place here on 29 August in the vicinity of the oblast military commissariat.

Although relatively few people gathered there, they expressed the opinion of all the soldiers' mothers of the oblast whose sons are serving in the Transcaucasus and Central Asia. Demands to return them from "hot spots,"

allowing sovereign republics to resolve their ethnic issues, have already been heard at rallies in a number of towns and villages of Volgograd Oblast.

After the rally, the secretariat of the Volgograd Oblast Committee of the CPSU also adopted a statement which talks of the necessity of discussing the question of addressing the central bodies regarding the expediency of using units of the Soviet Army in the Transcaucasus and of raising the responsibility of the local bodies of authority for maintaining law and order there.

Couple Resist Arrest, Cause Militia Strike

PM0509080590 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA
PRAVDA in Russian 31 Aug 90 p 4

[Report by S. Pluzhnikov: "Duty Mutiny by Zelenograd Militia Staffers"]

[Text] Moscow—At 1000 hours the Zelenograd militia relinquished responsibility for the security of the city's residents.

This was reported by leaflets stuck on bus stops and store windows. In actual fact, Zelenograd Internal Affairs Main Administration had begun a work-to-rule: Patrolling and point-duties were canceled, the drawing up of passports and driver's licenses was stopped.... But you could not call it a strike; it remains a protest.

Unfortunately we have already gotten used to the fact that miners, drivers, and teachers go on strike. But the guardians of order forming their own strike committee... That is an extraordinary occurrence, and it was brought about by extraordinary reasons.

The Andrianov couple were returning from a restaurant tipsily. At the wheel of the "Niva" automobile Sergey Andrianov first paid no attention to the red traffic signal and then sped past the State Automobile Inspectorate inspectors, ignoring their order to stop. The militia car caught up with the offender. Inspector Komkov asked for documents, but in reply received a blow in the face. In the melee a second inspector, Sergeyev, and a precinct militiaman who arrived in time to help, were also clobbered. The couple calmed down somewhat after rubber nightsticks were brought into play. After being placed in the patrol car Andrianov tried to assert his rights there, too, hitting the driver of the vehicle. Resisting militia staffers is an ordinary crime. But...

The informal "Democratic Elections" association and the Zelenograd Soviet of People's Deputies human rights commission zealously joined in the fight for the Andrianov family's rights.

Who is right and who is guilty was determined by Moscow City's Leningrad Rayon Court which sentenced the Andrianovs to differing terms of corrective labor. The informals turned the court sitting into a rally: They presented flowers to the criminals—who were sitting not

in the dock but in the hall "under escort" of the people's deputies—and insulting placards and shouts to the militia and the prosecutor.

This tragicomic farce was the last straw which broke the militia's patience, but just one straw of many: low wages, unpaid overtime, some militiamen having to live in communal apartments with former criminals as neighbors....

The presidium of the Zelenograd Soviet of People's Deputies replied unambiguously to militia claims and requests for an apology: We will form a military detachment of paratroops to replace the militia and bring order to the city (??).... And the strike began.

No, Zelenograd has not been subjected to looting. What is more, internal affairs main administration operational groups were ready to prevent any serious crime. A matter of hours was all it took to form a coordinating committee made up of militia staffers, deputies, and prosecutor's office representatives, and it got down to considering and meeting the strikers' demands. But militiamen are not rushing to disband their own strike committee.

"We are prepared to protect people come what may, but who will protect us," says Vladimir Babin, deputy chairman of the strike committee. "The court examination of the criminal case of resisting the militia has been scheduled for 4 September, and a pogrom of the internal affairs main administration building is also scheduled. And our informals, confusing pluralism with extremism, can be taken at their word. One of them, Aleksandr Fokin, has repeatedly had explosives, grenades, homemade weapons, and live cartridges confiscated from him....

One could be indignant: If the militia cannot defend itself, then... But better to recall that last year alone over 300 militiamen died in our country and around 1,000 were hospitalized because of their wounds—we outstrip the whole world in these categories—and to understand finally that the people with shoulder boards are people like us.

'Reinforced Militia' Protect Moscow Taxi Depots

LD3108124890 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 1008 GMT 31 Aug 90

[Excerpts] Moscow, 31 Aug (TASS)—Reinforced militia details have appeared near Moscow taxi depots. These motor vehicle enterprises are now being protected by men with submachine guns, MOSCOW PRAVDA reports today. This decision has been taken by the city authorities in reply to Moscow taxi drivers demands which were set forward by them on Sovetskaya Square in front of the Moscow City Soviet on 25 August.

A meeting of taxi drivers took place then at taxi depot number 20 after a night raid which had been committed by armed bandits the day before. Driver Nikolay

Kapralov was killed in the clash and two other people were seriously injured. [passage omitted]

The details of men with submachine guns near taxi depots is the first step made by city authorities aimed at making drivers' job and citizens' life less dangerous.

Kustanay Inmates Strike for Better Conditions

PM0409091790 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA

PRAVDA

in Russian 31 Aug 90 p 4

[Report by correspondent V. Komarov: "And at This Time"]

[Text] Kustanay—For two weeks several teams of around 60 people at the Kustanay Corrective Labor Institution have been demonstrating by refusing to work. The reason for the strike? The "prisoners" disorganized way of life, the lack of proper medical treatment, two-bit wages for forced labor....

And here they turn out a unique product which is sold in 30 countries of the world. And not just for rubles, for foreign currency.

USSR To Use Computerized UN Crime Network

LD0409180390 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian

1300 GMT 4 Sep 90

[Summary] The Soviet Union has received an invitation to use the computerized information network of the UN Committee on Crime Prevention and Control. Yuriy Golik, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Committee on Issues of Legislation, Legality, and Law and Order, revealed this in an interview with a TASS correspondent.

Gosteleradio Conditions, Funding Examined

LD0409223290 Moscow Television Service in Russian

1700 GMT 4 Sep 90

[Report from correspondent K. Grigoryeva from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] The USSR Supreme Soviet Commission on Issues of the Development of Culture, Language, National, and International Traditions was working today here in Ostankino.

[Grigoryeva] Their inspection of the premises where we work and from where we make our broadcasts gave rise to amazement in many of the deputies. They had of course heard about our cramped surroundings and poor level of technology, but it was the first time that they had seen with their own eyes the equipment rooms with their old and worn-out instruments, the lines awaiting the cutting tables, and the self-made units in the studios—those same unreliable buttons to switch on the microphone yourself if people wish to. Our level of technical provision is 30 percent; the rest as usual is enthusiasm. How else can one describe the night shifts of the video

engineers who receive 180 rubles [R] per month? And for all that, the volume of both radio and television broadcasts has almost doubled over the recent period. There have been broadcasts which the viewers have accepted and taken a liking to—topical reportage, night showings, and the Lucky Chance quiz. We are also constantly required to show deputies' activities, and we show them. And all of this on that equipment with the same people and, despite inflation, one can also say with the same money.

The leaders of Gosteleradio [State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting] told the deputies what changes 1991 augurs in the nature of broadcasting and its volume. The main thing is that competing television associations and channels are being formed, including a Russian channel. A wide-ranging exchange of national program is being introduced. The only thing is, will it be possible to do this if the country's Ministry of Finance once again gives R405 million less than is required? What are we to economize on? On the openness of parliament sessions or on movies?

It must be said that the Gosteleradio workers also had to listen to plenty of justified reproaches from the commission: That we are not propagandizing honest labor, that we are not giving due concern to education and culture, that we are not helping people to make clear sense of new laws, and that we display bad taste in music. Well, all this is true. We shall attempt to bear the remarks in mind. But what will happen about money? A year ago this Supreme Soviet commission helped radio and television to obtain additional funds for re-equipment. Let us hope for its help this year too!

Journalists Criticize Newspaper's 'Political Line'

PM3008131590 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA

PRAVDA in Russian 30 Aug 90 p 2

[Unattributed report: "Journalists' Appeal"]

[Text] Yesterday a group of SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA journalists requested the KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA editorial office to publish the following information.

Workers of the newspaper SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA (14 people) have sent a message to B.N. Yeltsin, chairman of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet. They expressed disagreement with the political line followed in SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA, which is based on a desire to make this newspaper solely an RSFSR Communist Party Central Committee organ.

In the journalists' view this line contradicts the desire of a considerable proportion of the collective to provide objective and complete coverage of the life of the Russian Federation and deprives the newspaper's subscribers of the opportunity to obtain adequate information about the processes developing in the republic, and most importantly in the soviets.

The writers of the letter requested the RSFSR Supreme Soviet to defend their right as founder of the newspaper.

MOSCOW NEWS Registered as Independent

LD0409223390 *Moscow Television Service in Russian*
1953 GMT 4 Sep 90

[From the "Television News Service" program]

[Text] The newspaper MOSCOW NEWS was among the 13 publications that today received registration certificates from the State Committee for Publishing Houses.

You do, of course, remember the panic-stricken rumors to the effect that MOSCOW NEWS was about to be disbanded and that MOSCOW NEWS was already closing down. You remember the pronouncements of doom on the newspaper from lofty rostrums. All that is now in the past. Our country's first newspaper of nascent democracy declared itself today to be an independent newspaper of the people. Already from next year onwards, each of us will be able to subscribe to it.

1990 Central Committee Plenum Brochure Published

LD0309192990 *Moscow Domestic Service in Russian*
1800 GMT 3 Sep 90

[Text] The brochure "Materials of the Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee of 5-7 February 1990" has been published with a large circulation. It contains the report made by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev on a draft platform of the CPSU Central Committee for the 28th party congress, the statement of the CPSU Central Committee on the decisions of the 20th congress of the Lithuanian Communist Party, speeches made during debates, concluding remarks of the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and other materials. The book has been published by the Politizdat publishing house.

Economic

Gorbachev Meets Republican Premiers on Economy

LD0409160390 *Moscow TASS in English* 1510 GMT
4 Sep 90

[By TASS correspondent Lev Aksenov and Boris Zverev]

[Text] Moscow September 4 TASS—Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev is meeting prime ministers of Soviet Union republics in the Kremlin today to coordinate concepts and platforms connected with plans to stabilise the Soviet economy and switch it to market relations.

The agreement to hold such a meeting was reached at a Presidential council session in late August, chairman of the Soviet National Parliament Anatoliy Lukyanov told the founding congress of the Russian Communist Party. He said the meeting began at 1500 Moscow time.

Urges Promoting Economic Reforms

LD0409182890 *Moscow TASS in English* 1822 GMT
4 Sep 90

[Text] Moscow September 4 TASS—President Mikhail Gorbachev today held a meeting on ways to speed up the transition to a market economy. The meeting was attended by members of groups working on programmes for the transition to a market, chairmen of the councils of ministers of the USSR and Union republics.

The meeting took note of apparent rapprochement in approaches in this work. Special attention is paid to the need for urgent measures to stabilise the economy and start work on the market infrastructure.

In this connection the Soviet president stressed the need for resolute actions to strengthen the monetary-financial system, to improve the situation at the consumer market. It was stressed that Union republics play a greater role in dealing with these problems, agreed on their actions and improved preparations for work in 1991. [sentence as received]

Gorbachev gave specific instructions on speeding up the drafting of the programme for the transition to a market so that the draft could be submitted for discussion by the USSR Supreme Soviet and the supreme soviets of Union republics in the next few days.

Synopsis of Shatalin Group Economic Program

PM0409195190 *Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian*
5 Sep 90 Morning Edition p 3

[Synopsis of Shatalin group program: "Man, Freedom, and the Market. On the Program Developed by the Group Led by Academician S.S. Shatalin"]

[Text] This program could only have appeared under the conditions of perestroika and is entirely in keeping with the policy initiated in 1985. M.S. Gorbachev and B.N. Yeltsin initiated its preparation. It can only be implemented with their joint support.

As a result of the many years during which the totalitarian sociopolitical system predominated, our society has found itself in a profound crisis. The government's lack of resolve and its shortcomings in economic policy have left the country on the brink of disaster. People's lives are becoming increasingly difficult and they are losing hope of a better future. Only well-considered and vigorous action supported by the people and relying on their solidarity and patriotism can bring about a breakthrough in this situation.

Our society has amassed a great deal of negative experience of economic reforms, which people now associate purely with changes for the worse in their lives. Life, unfortunately, has taught them to believe more readily in bad news than in good. The implementation of this program should refute this sad experience.

Its main difference is that it is based on a fundamentally new economic doctrine, on progress toward the market primarily at the state's expense rather than at the expense of ordinary people.

For a long period an essentially antipeople policy was implemented: a rich state with a poor people. The state concentrated immense resources in its own hands and practically all ownership of the means of production. Resources were thoughtlessly spent on gigantic and inefficient projects, the inflation of military might, and foreign policy adventures with ideological overtones even though all this had long ceased to be affordable.

The program poses the following task: to take as much as possible from the state and give it back to the people. There are major grounds for believing that the return to the people of a considerable proportion of property and resources on different terms will ensure far more efficient proprietorial utilization of them and will make it possible to avoid many negative phenomena in the process of transition to the market. It is necessary to resolutely cut all state spending, including under headings that are kept secret from society.

Only when all the potential and resources currently swallowed up by the gigantic state machine are returned to people's needs, and only when the people know this, will the country's government be entitled to appeal to the people to be patient and endure possible hardships for the sake of the motherland, their future, and their children's future.

We should also appeal to other countries for help. They will support us if they recognize our program as being sufficiently resolute and competent and if they are sure that the aid they give will be used sensibly and effectively to benefit people.

Everyone, every enterprise, and every territory or sovereign republic will see this program as a response to their vital interests, and with its help will have an opportunity to act for the sake of implementing these interests right now, forthwith.

This is another fundamental feature of the program: People should not wait for any permission or directions, they should act in accordance with their own interests. The program will show how best and most effectively to act in this direction. People who read this program with interest will be able to determine what is beneficial in it for themselves personally and decide ahead of time what they should do at what time; and what they should demand, from whom, to what extent, and on what terms to implement their economic rights and interests.

Nobody is imposing a particular kind and type of occupation on anyone, everyone is free to choose, guided by their own desire and ability, whether they become entrepreneurs, hired workers in state structures, managers at joint-stock enterprises, engage in individual labor activity, or become cooperative members. Reform gives

citizens the right to economic self-determination, establishing rules whose observance will not allow certain people—individuals, groups of people, enterprises, or territories—to secure their interests at the expense of the infringement of the economic rights of others. It is freedom of choice that is people's basic personal freedom and the foundation for revealing the creative potential of the individual. It does not constitute the rules for a future market economy—these will emerge during the course of the shaping and development of such a society. The economic content of this program is the transition to the market and the creation of the foundations of a society with a new economic system.

The system of economic relations we have created for running the national economic complex is to blame for the fact that in a very wealthy country an industrious people live at a level that does not at all correspond to the territory's wealth, talent, and efforts. People live worse than they work because either they are making things they do not need themselves or what they make is lost or not used.

This program defines ways of switching to an economic system capable of eradicating this situation and giving all citizens a real opportunity to make their lives significantly better. Thus, the program can be seen as a program for implementing citizens' rights to a better and more worthy life.

The Human Right to Ownership

The right to ownership is realized by means of denationalization and privatization—the transfer of state property to citizens. The social thrust of the economy is seen first and foremost in the return of ownership to the people. This is not an act of revenge but the restoration of social justice, a way of enshrining people's right to their share of the country's national wealth—that which has already been accumulated and that which will be created in the future. Privatization—this should be particularly emphasized—is a way of distributing responsibility for the state and level of society's development among all its members who want to shoulder that responsibility. Privatization should be absolutely voluntary and not be reminiscent of reverse collectivization.

Ownership in the hands of all is a guarantee of social stability and one of the main conditions for preventing social and ethnic upheavals. People with their own houses and land that they can always sell or leave to their children, and people with shares or other financial assets will have an objective interest in societal stability and social and ethnic harmony. Conversely, our sorry experience shows how dangerous people with nothing to lose can be to society and its normal life and development.

The program gives everyone an equal chance. However, this equality of opportunity should not be seen as a mirror image of leveling. To ensure that privatization does not turn into a means whereby a small number of people quite legally gain excessive wealth, the procedure itself should ensure the participation in it of the broadest

strata: Virtually everyone, even if they do not have considerable initial capital, will be able to obtain their share of the national wealth should they so wish. Equality of opportunity will be ensured by the diversity of forms of privatization which will make it possible to lease property, to buy it with loans, to acquire it on a shared basis, and so forth.

The fact that the state cannot and should not give its property away gratis is of fundamental importance. Ownership needs to be earned, since people will have little faith in and place little value on handouts. At the same time, some state property should be considered to have been already earned by people and it could be given to them gratis or for a nominal sum. This primarily concerns long-occupied apartments with minimal floor area per person, small truck gardens, and many other things.

This should be immediately followed by the start of work on the creation before the year's end of 50 to 60 joint-stock companies based on large state enterprises, and the handover or sale for a nominal sum of certain (essentially already earned) categories of housing and plots of land.

There should be an inventory of the country's national wealth—above all its gold and currency reserves; strategic stockpiles; the property of social organizations; unfinished construction projects; Armed Forces property; and certain other types of state property such as light motor transport, state dachas, and so forth. Local soviets (rayon and city) will take an inventory of nonresidential premises. Local soviets will also freeze the bulk of production construction projects on the basis of the results of the inventory of unfinished construction projects. The value of these projects, uninstalled equipment, and material stocks in construction will be assessed. The work thus done will make it possible to embark on the sale of some material stocks to the population, enterprises, and cooperatives.

Local soviets will assess the value of trading enterprises, service enterprises, local industry, and small and medium-sized enterprises in other sectors. After these enterprises' financial condition has been analyzed, the press will publish lists of them indicating the timetable and conditions for their privatization. Then, in an atmosphere of complete glasnost about the progress of privatization, the sale of nonresidential premises and small enterprises—workshops, stores, studios, and kiosks—will begin. The program is aimed at ensuring that people can use their existing money to acquire ownership. The switching of a considerable proportion of demand to these purposes will make it possible to avoid substantial price growth as prices are gradually "freed."

At the same time, local soviets will take an inventory of land, bearing in mind the nature of its utilization. The implementation of these measures will make it possible to ensure that everyone who wants to engage in agriculture has access to land. At the same time, the allocation

of land for horticultural and truck-garden partnerships will be expanded with plots being sold off. Already allocated plots up to a certain size will be sold off for a moderate price; plots above the set size will be sold for their full market value.

The main burden of realizing citizens' rights to ownership will lie with specially created privatization organs and land reform committees attached to oblast (rayon) soviets.

Citizens' right to economic activity will be ensured by the redistribution of property between the state and citizens during denationalization and by the adoption of a law on entrepreneurial activity. The state will create an economic environment that will promote the development of initiative and enterprise, simplify the procedure for setting up one's own company, help in setting it up properly, and support it with preferential tax rates and credits in the competitive struggle with large enterprises. The program proceeds on the basis that society needs small entrepreneurs to ensure that production meets the needs of each specific individual, to combat the diktat of monopoly producers in the consumer and production markets, and to create the necessary conditions for the rapid assimilation of new scientific and technical ideas to which small and medium-sized enterprises are more receptive.

Citizens' Right to Economic Activity

How will people's right to ownership be implemented technically?

On the very first day that the program starts to be implemented the equality of the rights of all physical and legal persons to conduct economic activity will be officially declared. A program of privatization; the transformation of large state enterprises into joint-stock companies; and the sale of small trading, public catering, consumer service, and other enterprises will be announced. This statement will also mention that there will be guarantees for the right of ownership of any kind of property apart from that belonging exclusively to the state. An amnesty will be declared for those convicted under articles dealing with entrepreneurial activity, and these articles themselves will be removed from criminal and administrative legislation. At the same time the fight against crimes against citizens' property will be stepped up.

A favorable situation will be enshrined in law for removing enterprises from state ownership on the initiative of labor collectives that appeal to the State Property Fund or republic Committees for the Administration of State Property.

The state will provide incentives for the development of international economic ties and trips abroad for work or study. The attempts to build a system isolated from the outside world virtually doomed most sectors of our economy to degradation and stagnation. The opening up of the domestic market will make Soviet entrepreneurs

compete with cheap imports both inside the country and abroad, which will make our economy dynamic and flexible in meeting the demands of the market and consequently the consumer.

Citizens' Right to Freedom of Consumer Choice and Fair Prices

The right of consumer choice is by no means last among the rights and freedoms offered by the new economic system. The Soviet consumer market today has been almost completely destroyed and our consumers—that is, all of us—have been correspondingly deprived of their rights. Citizens of a great power have fallen hostage to empty stores, virtually falling under the authority of monopoly producers and monopoly distributors.

Among the many reasons for this situation the prime reasons are inflation and the money—not backed by goods—that has been paid out to the population mainly over the past few years. The constant criticism that people allegedly have loads of “surplus” money that should be confiscated in some fashion is essentially immoral. Can per capita savings that slightly exceed 1,500 rubles be considered “surplus?” If we take account of citizens' largely meager personal property, it turns out that the overwhelming majority of holders of “surplus” money are not far from being on the poverty line. Even the total sum of money that consumers are today ready to immediately spend on certain goods is extremely small. But our consumer market cannot stand even this monetary pressure.

The reform is aimed at normalizing the state of the consumer market by liberalizing price formation. In the transitional period this will occur by forming commodity reserves—not least by means of imports, taking account of the forthcoming phased transition to free prices for many types of goods. Free bid and offer rates for foreign currency will be introduced and a foreign-currency market will be established. A number of major banks will be entitled to trade foreign currency at market prices and Soviet citizens will be permitted to freely hold foreign-currency bank accounts.

There is an opinion that the transition to the market will be impossible without an administrative price rise. The program will make it possible to start this transition without raising prices centrally. The market knows about price rises and falls, but the administrative system—particularly in recent years—has been changing them in an upward direction only. We can see from our currently nonmarket economy how expensive life is getting, and this is happening far faster than official statistics admit.

Why should people be confident that the latest State Committee on Prices [Goskomtsen] price lists provide fair or nearly fair prices if the Goskomtsen has never been able to provide them before? Of course, there are no guarantees that free market prices will become fair right away, but the market will set them sooner or later and there will never be any administrative or centralized control over them. Even when the government succeeds

in administratively maintaining low prices for certain goods—particularly goods in short supply—the consumer, as a rule, can only be content in the knowledge that low prices do exist somewhere. These goods are generally not on sale or are obtainable only by privileged sectors of the population. Most customers have long been buying them at market—including the “black” market—and at far higher prices.

The transition to free prices will be phased in starting with those goods that are not prime necessities and are mainly bought by high-income population groups. The burden of price rises will thereby be shouldered primarily by them.

Under the program products will be differentiated by quality. A wide spread of prices for goods depending on their quality will be combined with low prices for a range of prime necessities. The proportion of free prices will be gradually increased as the measures to bring about the financial stabilization of the economy take effect. Initially a special tax may be levied on the sale of high-quality products to maintain low prices for existing products that are in mass demand. Under no circumstances should the reform begin with the abolition of state subsidies for meat and dairy products. These subsidies should be maintained, transferring to local soviets the right to distribute this help more equitably.

Citizens' Right to Increasing Income and Social Guarantees

One major drawback in the system for the state regulation of the population's income and living standard that has existed up to now is its slowness to react [neoperativnost] and inflexibility. Many payments from social consumption funds remained unchanged for decades and the minimum wage level was not reviewed. In the many years between reviews these payments entirely lost their ability to correspond to their initial role. Moreover, the low income level of large population groups reinforces undeveloped poverty-line requirements. The negative processes that emerged in this sphere were hidden behind various measures aimed at smoothing over existing contradictions. This sluggishness and inability to react in good time to real-life changes is a typical feature of the existing system.

The market, as a very mobile system, not only liberalizes economic processes but creates mechanisms that make it possible to regulate changes taking place at the real-life level. These include the indexation of incomes, the regular review of income levels in conjunction with the dynamics of a minimal consumer budget, and a social welfare system for people who fall below the poverty line.

The transition to the market will not necessarily have to be paid for with a direct freeze on incomes—as is often argued by both the opponents and supporters of the market economy. The program envisions making earnings really dependent once again on the results of people's own work—with that work being definitely albeit

gradually improved in real terms. Only in this way can we achieve growth in entrepreneurial and labor activity, and in turn broader opportunities for increased incomes.

An increasing role in the population's income will be played by earnings from property: higher interest than at present on bank deposits and state bonds, and share income. [as published]

The social reorientation of the economy will be impossible without extensive structural perestroika. But no centralized administrative-edict economic system—even the best—is capable of bringing about this restructuring, just as it is incapable of understanding and meeting all of society's needs. Structural perestroika will require effort, and inevitably there will be casualties in the interim period. This will not be the market's fault, but it will be the result of the lack of a market. However, without this structural perestroika it will be impossible in principle to achieve any substantial growth in living standards. Of course the closure and reorganization of many production facilities will require temporary layoffs and retraining large numbers of people. A new and more efficient employment structure will thereby take shape and heavy, harmful sectors of production will be cut along with manual labor. More skilled workers at new, highly efficient production facilities will earn more.

There are plans to reorganize the job allocation service and to introduce welfare payments to those who, for whatever reason, are looking for a new job. While looking for work and availing themselves of the active participation of state services to that end, people can take part in social work: road construction and the building of apartments—primarily for themselves. Those who so wish will be able to obtain and work a plot of land.

It is planned to organize further education and retraining courses and programs for workers and employees, and to shape a system of voluntary social work. The acuteness of the employment problem will be substantially eased by the creation of additional jobs—at new production facilities, in trade, and in the services sphere—and by incentives for the development of enterprise and small enterprises.

The regulation of employment should be ensured not by tying a worker down to a specific job but by creating the conditions for the continual improvement of qualifications and professional skills. The elaboration of this kind of constant mechanism and its improvement as problems arise will form the core of the state's employment policy.

Enterprises' Right to Freedom of Economic Activity

The enterprises' economic freedom consists of being given an opportunity to operate in the interests of their workers, their shareholder owners, and the state in accordance with market conditions; to autonomously

determine the volume and structure of production, the volume of sales, and the prices for their products; and to choose their partners.

Virtually from the very start of the program's implementation, enterprises will be given an opportunity to change owners either via privatization (mainly for small and medium enterprises) or via transformation into joint stock corporations (for medium and large enterprises). This means that, immediately following the program's promulgation, enterprise collectives will be able to start preparations so as to undergo this process as painlessly as possible, which will be fundamentally different from our practice of releasing a hail of decisions. They will be able, at their own discretion, to resolve the question of hiring the best qualified managers on contract.

With a view to maintaining economic stability, existing economic ties will obviously be frozen until July 1991. Immediately afterwards, however, enterprises will be given the right to autonomously determine the range and volume of their production and their consumers and suppliers, as well as to organize the free marketing of output throughout the country.

Enterprises will be released from the system of sector monopolies and will have to establish horizontal ties with their partners. They will also be able to acquire material resources on the wholesale market, including incomplete construction projects and so on, to freely sell surplus equipment, material stocks, and other property as well as to lease their capital assets. They will be given the right to participate directly in foreign economic activity. Enterprises will be able to buy and sell foreign currency on the domestic currency market.

While acquiring new rights and expanding the sphere of their economic freedom, enterprises must bear in mind that the program also envisions tough restrictions on wage hikes financed via loans, total elimination of budget subsidies, sharp reduction of state capital investments, reduction of state purchases, and foreign competition. An awareness of these realities will enable enterprises to better cope with the freedom they will acquire.

Republics' Rights to Economic Sovereignty

These rights are provided in accordance with the program and on the basis of the Treaty on Economic Union of Sovereign States and a series of supplementary agreements. It is also envisioned to conclude agreements on interrepublic deliveries and deliveries to meet all-Union needs, as well as on mechanisms to maintain economic ties during the transition period.

The main thesis in mutual relations between republics and the center is that nobody is either led or ordered by anyone else. The entire program is based on respect for declarations of sovereignty adopted by the republics. It is impossible to implement economic reform on the basis of directives from the center no matter how correct they might be. The peoples no longer wish to tolerate a situation whereby fundamental questions concerning

their life are decided at the center without their participation. The program takes into account the headlong growth of national self-awareness and therefore the main role in the implementation of transformations is being assigned to republic governments and local organs of power. Power must get closer to people.

By exercising their rights to economic sovereignty, the people will gain an opportunity to autonomously deal with their republics' national wealth, to prevent any senseless waste of resources, and to preserve nature and the earth's wealth for future generations. Republic governments are now responsible for the development of their territories and consequently exercise the majority of powers in economic management.

The level of basic taxes and the forms and methods of privatization will be determined at republic level, and the prices of most goods will be regulated at the same level. Each republic will find its own way to land and housing reforms, and their governments will elaborate their own systems of social guarantees and will autonomously form the republic budgets. The Union will receive funds to finance only programs in which the people are really interested.

The republics must determine the extent of their autonomy in economic management and take upon themselves the management of appropriate categories of state property. The ultimate goal of the separation of powers in the management of state property is not simply to transfer it from the Union to the republics, but to achieve de-statization and privatization. Subject to agreement between all republics, many categories of property must remain in all-Union hands.

While economic integration is necessary, it must be built not on unitarism and the center's diktat but on voluntariness, mutual benefit, and equal partnership. When joining the economic union, sovereign republics agree on the general principles of economic policy, the development of a single market, and the coordinated implementation of reforms. Union management organs will be formed on the basis of proportional representation of all republics. The formation of these organs is being planned at the very start of the program. The powers given to union management organs are agreed by all republics and enshrined in the Treaty on Economic Union.

Membership of the economic union must be advantageous for the sovereign republics and therefore provision must be made for the voluntary nature of membership and the right to freely withdraw from the union. At the same time, a member of the economic union must take on certain obligations agreed by all its members. In the event of a republic refusing to honor these obligations but wishing to participate in some of the union's socio-economic programs, it will be given the status of associate member (observer) which would curtail its rights within the union framework.

The Center's Economic Rights

They comprise the sum total of rights delegated by sovereign republics. Within the framework of these agreed rights, the center exercises its powers to manage the all-Union property and stocks and the economic programs of all-Union importance, and ensures the greatest possible agreement in the implementation of reforms.

Society's Rights

Our society has the absolute right to live better right away rather than in some distant future and the proposed program for transition to a market economy pursues the fullest possible exercise of this right.

The working group fully realizes that the proposed program has shortcomings, but it believes that the final work to be done on the program is already in life's hands. The restriction of our work's duration to one month and the absence of important information prevented us from doing any more.

We express thanks to the hundreds of specialists, representatives of workers collectives, scientists, and entire scientific institutions that gave us support and practical assistance in this complex work.

[Signed] S. Shatalin, N. Petrakov, G. Yavlinskiy, S. Aleksashenko, A. Vavilov, L. Grigoryev, M. Zadornov, V. Martynov, V. Mashchits, A. Mikhaylov, B. Fedorov, T. Yarygina, Ye. Yasin.

[Note: A version of this synopsis carried in Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA 5 September supplies a date and place as follows: "'Arkhangelskoye' (former nobleman's mansion some 40km from Moscow), 1 September 1990"].

Shatalin Warns 'Draconian' Steps May Be Needed

AU0409180990 Vienna DER STANDARD in German
4 Sep 90 p 15

[Report by Johannes Steiner: "No Reforms Without a Stable Ruble"]

[Text] Vienna—"A stable ruble is the absolute precondition for all other reform steps in the Soviet Union," says Stanislav Shatalin, economic adviser of Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev and chairman of the reform commission established by Gorbachev and Boris Yeltsin, president of the Russian Republic. If the steps for stabilization undertaken so far do not have any effect, draconian measures will have to be taken next year. Then the savings of the Soviet citizens will have to be frozen—at least temporarily.

In case of emergency, cash assets will have to be removed by a monetary reform. Shatalin says in an interview with DER STANDARD. At first we will try to close those channels through which the Soviet citizens are acquiring illegal money. Increased imports of consumer goods are

also supposed to reduce those amounts of money which have accumulated in households because of the lack of goods available for purchase and which constitute an enormous danger to monetary stability.

Saturday evening [1 September], before he boarded the plane to go on his two-day visit to Vienna, he delivered the concept worked out by the reform commission to the parliament; this concept is to be implemented as of December, Shatalin says. Until then there will certainly be many corrections. However there is agreement concerning one essential issue: All Soviet Union republics are to be able to act as completely sovereign states in the future. "These are not just words, this will be reality," Shatalin stresses. The economics professor did not want to confirm whether this will mean a transformation of the Soviet Union into a federation. There are also other possibilities, he said.

Sovereignty of the republics will go hand in hand with a change in the property regulations. The property of the state is to become the property of the republic.

This is also the precondition for the third essential point of the program, namely privatization. Any form of ownership will be guaranteed its right to existence, collective and cooperative ownership as well as private ownership, including stock corporations. The specific implementation of privatization is, however, a very difficult task. Small enterprises can be transferred to private owners relatively quickly. In the case of the industrial giants the state could first transfer part of its property in the form of shares. In this case, financially powerful foreigners might even get easier access than Soviet citizens, Shatalin states.

Shatalin gives the stabilization program a period of 18 months. By then the price system also has to be reformed. Prices for some vital goods will remain under control, but the majority will be liberalized. The path toward market economy will, however, take many more years. "Our people are no longer accustomed to thinking in economic terms. For this we will probably need a new generation."

Reportage on Oil Production Levels, Shortages

Gorbachev Says Exports To Expand

LD3108182190 Budapest Television Service
in Hungarian 1730 GMT 31 Aug 90

[Excerpt] [Announcer] USSR President Mikhail Gorbachev talked to journalists in Moscow. Issues affecting the Hungarian economy also figured in his statement. Mihaly Hardi reports:

[Hardi] The Soviet Union, in the course of the transition to the market economy, is prescribing a considerable expansion of its export activity and this also applies to the oil deliveries to East and West Europe. This was

stated by Mikhail Gorbachev personally when he answered a question asked of him by NEWSREEL at his Moscow news conference.

Gorbachev's words naturally do not mean that oil export deliveries will increase beginning tomorrow, but at least the intention has been declared at the highest level. [passage omitted]

Production Down 15 Million Tonnes

AU0409142590 Paris AFP in English 1303 GMT
4 Sep 90

[Text] Moscow, Sept 4 (AFP)—Soviet oil production fell by 15 million tonnes in the first half of this year from the same period of 1989 and the economy is in its worst state ever, Deputy Prime Minister Leonid Abalkin said Tuesday.

"The Soviet economy is in the worst situation the Soviet state has ever seen, excluding the war years," Mr. Abalkin, who heads the Soviet Government's commission on economic reform, told journalists on the sidelines of the Congress of the Russian Republic Communist Party.

"During the first six months of this year, oil production fell by 15 million tonnes, affecting refined products and exports," he said.

The Soviet Union, the world's leading oil producer, turned out some 610 million tonnes of crude oil last year, already some 15 million tonnes less than in 1988.

"Over the past 12 months, production has fallen completely," said Mr. Abalkin. "Four hundred enterprises have been closed for ecological reasons, which is why there is a shortage of medicine in the country."

Mr. Abalkin also said that Russian parliament president Boris Yeltsin had placed Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev in a "delicate position" in refusing to compromise over economic reform.

In "refusing the compromise reached during a joint meeting (last week) of the Council of the Federation and the Presidential Council, which was a chance not to be lost, the Russian leaders are putting the president (Gorbachev) in an uncomfortable position," he added.

"I do not wish to appear as responsible for disagreement," Mr. Abalkin said. "There is still a chance. But if the other party violates the agreement unilaterally, we will have the right to use the law to defend ourselves."

The Council of the Federation and the Presidential Council agreed Friday to set up a commission to draw up by September 10 an economic reform programme drawing on proposals from Mr. Abalkin's commission and from a commission headed by Mr. Gorbachev and Mr. Yeltsin.

But Mr. Yeltsin said Saturday that he was seeking the resignation of the Soviet Government and the total

withdrawal of the Abalkin proposals. He has also warned that his parliament can afford to ignore the federal government altogether and adopt its own economic reform plan.

The parliament of the Russian Federation, the largest Soviet republic, reconvened on Monday after the summer break, when parliamentary vice-president Boris Isayev told TASS news agency that the Russian Government's programme for a transition to a market economy would be the main item on the agenda.

Ufa Oil Refinery Complex Delayed

PM0409131890 Moscow Television Service in Russian
0830 GMT 31 Aug 90

[Report by M. Gafurov from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer] While reports are coming in from various parts of the country that harvesting machinery is idling because of shortages of engine fuel, a new complex at the Ufa petroleum refinery has still not been commissioned.

[Gafurov] The refinery is 50 years old. Some 85 to 90 percent of its fixed capital is obsolete. This is why the retooling of the refinery and the construction of a new comprehensive-process refining complex began back in 1986. The commissioning of this complex will make it possible to double the production of gasoline—what is more, it will be unleaded gasoline—bring about a 500,000-tonne increase in the annual production of diesel, of which there is currently such a shortage in the countryside; and close down seven old industrial installations located on the outskirts of the city which will make it possible to improve the ecological situation in the city.

The estimated cost of the complex totals 160 million rubles [R]. Over the past four years only 60 percent of this sum has been used, although the complex should have been commissioned in January of last year.

Why the delay? One of the reasons is the failure by the Volgograd Neftemash, the Chernovtsy Mashzavod, and the Chaykovskiy synthetic rubber plant to deliver the necessary equipment. Now this question has essentially been resolved, but....

[K.V. Khramov, chief mechanical engineer of the Ufa Petroleum Refinery] Well, as you can see there are heaps of equipment waiting to be installed. Construction workers are greatly behind schedule. They are simply failing to hand premises over to installation workers. One of the reasons is that the military construction detachment which was helping the No. 21 construction trust has been cut back, and in the new year it will be withdrawn altogether. We have no idea what is in store for us. There is not enough cement, not enough concrete, not enough ferroconcrete. Only 72 percent of the plan has been fulfilled. That speaks for itself.

[Gafurov] So the complex will not be commissioned this year?

[Khramov] I have to say unequivocally, no.

[Gafurov] But take a look at this. The Ministry of the Chemical and Petroleum Refining Industry and the Gosplan [State Planning Committee] have decreed that the remaining 40 percent of capital investments must be used up this year. But the quotas of materials allocated to subcontractors total only 70 percent of what is needed. Meanwhile the plant will already have to pay the center R10 million in fines this year for not having commissioned the complex. What a mess, you may say!

Kuybyshev Pipeline Explosion Viewed

PM0509080690 Moscow Television Service in Russian
1430 GMT 31 Aug 90

[Report by L. Krechetova from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer] Reports about accidents, followed by reports about repair work in the wake of such accidents, have become all too frequent in our country. According to a report which we received today, such work is drawing to a close on a section of the Chelyabinsk-Petrovsk gas pipeline near Nikolayevka village, Kuybyshev Oblast, where as you know an explosion took place recently.

[Krechetova] Judging by appearances, the explosion was a very powerful one. A large section of the pipeline was hurled 300 meters through the air, cutting down mighty pine trees like a sickle.

Eyewitnesses relate that a column of fire shot skyward at midday and kept burning for some 12 hours. The woods caught fire. The heat could be felt in the nearby village. The people responsible for the state of main pipelines may have gotten used to accidents. Of late there have been some 10 such accidents on the territory of our oblast alone. Oil and gas pipelines are exploding. Their overall length in our country is more than 10,000 km.

First of all I would like to know how long it took to cut off the gas supply?

[V.I. Kuligin, deputy chief of the Tolyatti Main Gas Pipeline Administration] Well, on the Tolyatti side the gas supply was cut off within 15 minutes, and on the Sergiyevsk side it was turned off after an hour and a half. However some gas kept getting through to the site of the accident because the valve was leaking. The gas leak was stopped only when a valve was shut down at the 810 km mark at 2245.

[Krechetova] Fortunately, there was no one in the vicinity that Saturday. Fortunately, the nearby fields had been harvested. Fortunately, there was no wind. And fortunately, the accident occurred here and not elsewhere. In our oblast, in Krasnoyarskiy Rayon alone, despite a ban some 1,500 plots with various types of

weekend houses and huts are located in the immediate vicinity of the pipeline. Local soviets and oblast leaders are aware of this.

Is it necessary for a disaster to happen before we become more careful?

Politburo's Stroyev Interviewed on Food Shortage

PM3108134790 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
31 Aug 90 Second Edition p 2

[Interview with Ye. S. Stroyev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, by A. Platoshkin; place and date not given: "Removing Acuteness of Deficit"—first paragraph is introduction]

[Text] The recent sitting of the CPSU Central Committee Secretariat discussed among priority questions that of the increased political tension in connection with the deterioration in the population's provision with food and other goods. Ye.S. Stroyev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, delivered a report on the subject. The editorial office asked him to comment on this discussion and to describe the state of affairs on the consumer market.

[Stroyev] As you know, the sociopolitical situation in the country is complex. This is largely because of the shortage of goods on the consumer market. Unfortunately this shortage is not diminishing. As is borne out in particular by the tobacco fuss [bum]. Coupons and "visiting cards" in many regions are entering daily practice, but even they are not saving the situation.

The reasons? The party has rejected its managerial edict functions. But no harmonious system for leading the national economy has yet been created in the republic. It lacks many structures. For instance, the Ministry of the Food Industry has been abolished. At the same time the USSR Council of Ministers commission for food and purchases does not even have a department to study these problems. In agricultural machine building and material and technical supplies for the countryside the situation is no better. And the weakening of the tie between city and countryside? Surely that will not fill the food store shelves?

The unresolved problems are snowballing. The market is out of balance. The process has gotten out of control. Executive discipline is also declining. Enterprises are twisting their partners' arms, as they say, taking no account of state interests. Under the conditions of the drastic deterioration in material and technical supplies to the countryside, meat and other foods are becoming items of barter.

Targeted programs are needed which would predict, forestall, and extinguish such situations in advance. This was said at the Secretariat sitting.

[Platoshkin] Yegor Semenovich, the market will probably help to normalize the situation?

[Stroyev] So far not. Yet the country must be controlled. And all those to blame for it must be answerable to the people for the social tension. Sitzings of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and Secretariat, plenums, and congresses have frequently spoken keenly of the need to equalize the growth of wages with the increase in labor productivity. But this year the population's incomes again rose 13 percent while the increase in output, including food and consumer goods, was considerably lower. There has also frequently been mention of how to tie down free money. Time is passing but there is still no decision as to how to do this. The soviets, while demanding power, are far from always in any hurry to actually use it.

The question of deliveries to the Union-republican fund has become extremely acute. There has been a shortfall of 1 billion rubles [R] in the delivery of foods since the beginning of the year. The republics' representatives themselves demand that methods for mutual accounting be determined as soon as possible. Otherwise exchange in kind will become even more widespread.

The USSR Ministry of Trade has abandoned operational monitoring of the state of affairs in its sphere. In many cases market trade is not controlled by the local soviets. Nor can the role of the unions of consumer trade cooperatives be seen here. Those who buy for resale "call the tune" at the Moscow markets. They are hiking prices for vegetables. Although there are more than enough vegetables in the country. The protracted idleness of central and local authorities in this sphere has given rise to millionaires. They lay their hands on the market and try to exert increasing influence on social life and its processes.

At the same time, willingly or not, we are as it were offending the peasantry. About 40 percent of the country's population lives in the countryside. But only about one-third of washing machines, refrigerators, and television sets are allocated to the countryside. In fact 1.5 times fewer cultural and consumer goods are allocated than for city dwellers.

[Platoshkin] Great hopes were pinned on the technical equipping of the food industry and on conversion.

[Stroyev] The money is mainly being assimilated here but the establishments are being commissioned only poorly. Last year only half the 236 planned establishments were commissioned. Of the 250 meat combines which it was planned to commission in the current five-year plan, only 79 have been launched. Equipment in the flour grinding industry is very worn. Renovation is also under way only slowly. This reduces the output of high-quality flour and leads to a sharp increase in grain expenditure.

A crucial question is the reequipping of the fishing fleet and the improvement of wages for its workers. They provide a very substantial supplement to our diet with products of the sea.

[Platoshkin] What are the conclusions?

[Stroyev] Stabilizing the system of economic management—and urgently. The party committees must help to perfect it by sending their best cadres to production and to the ministries and departments. For instance, that is what they do in Tselinograd Oblast. Hence the results are good. There is no tension in the food market. A wide range of meat items, breads, groats, and vegetables is always on sale. Things in this respect are not bad in Belgorod, Orel, Ryazan, Rovno, Kokchetav, and Kustanay Oblasts and in Belorussia. So that much can be done.

But it is also time for the center to renounce the dangerous tendency of blaming everything solely on the local organs. Including responsibility for failures. As long as the state exists the people will take it to task.

[Platoshkin] For the tobacco fuss for instance....

[Stroyev] The problem has proven very complex. And the USSR president recently demanded explanations from officials of the critical situation regarding the population's provision with tobacco articles. At the same time many enterprises have ceased to operate. The emergency situation must be eliminated not only by purchases abroad. Zones for the production of high-quality tobacco must be restored in our own country. They are the Transcaucasus, Kirghizia, and Moldova, where a family lease system has already been worked out. We must investigate why 29 enterprises for the production of medicines have been halted. We are having to buy these medicines abroad, again for currency.

[Platoshkin] Probably not everything in our country is in such a lamentable state?

[Stroyev] Of course not. And that too was mentioned. A good harvest will be brought in in the country. It is important now to step up procurements of grain, vegetables, potatoes, and fruit. Opportunities are taking shape everything to lay in a sufficient quantity of feed for the livestock. According to preliminary calculations two million tonnes more milk will be purchased. If at the same time the government resolves questions of price formation, purchases of meat will also increase. Particularly from individual livestock owners. The economy of the collective and state farms will be substantially corrected.

The soviets and state organs must really show an ability to organize matters. Nor must the party committees shirk responsibility. The role of the primary party organizations must increase here. Unfortunately, it has been underestimated. The Communists, each in his place in the field, at the plant, in the state institution, can do a lot to reduce the keenness of the shortage, particularly of food, and to satisfy people's urgent needs.

In resolving current tasks it is important, however, to see the long term. And it lies in the transition to the development of a mixed economy and market relations.

EC Seen as Trade Model for Union Treaty

90UF0498A Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA
in Russian 28 Aug 90 p 3

[Article by economist M. Medvedkov: "Only Compromise Makes Sense"]

[Text] The new Union treaty must inevitably be the result of compromise. This applies in full to the sphere of foreign economic relations also. But the compromise must be built not on smoothing over the bedclothes but on the positive experience of the world community since "reinventing the wheel," in which we quite often engaged earlier, has proven groundless.

Of course it makes no sense to blindly copy world experience without regard for the domestic situation and the mistakes which have been made here and overseas. What, for example, is the attraction of the European Communities? Countries with different political arrangements and noncomparable economic potentials united on the basis of a customs union. The communities have been developing for 30 years now. Achievements have been based on compromise solutions, and this against a background of economic and in recent years political integration also.

Proceeding from the experience of the European Communities and given the preservation of the sovereign rights of the Union republics, what is needed to secure the economic basis of the integrity of the Union? The main thing is to record in the Union treaty the four principles of economic freedom—freedom of the movement of goods across borders, freedom of services, freedom of capital, and freedom of manpower.

This will permit the introduction of the principles of market management in time. But the evolved directions of the economic cooperation and mutually complementary economies of the Union republics, which will be able via a system of taxation and other instruments to secure their own interests, will be preserved.

In this case the point of departure of economic union could be a customs union of the Union republics. A condition of its creation would be the country's transition to the regulation of foreign economic ties with the aid of the commercial and political instruments applied in the civilized world.

The question arises: Is a central foreign economic department necessary?

Yes, but only one fully released from commercial functions. It should deal exclusively with questions of trade policy.

Such an institution would conclude and monitor the fulfillment of international commercial contracts and agreements regulating questions of trade and economic activity on the territory of the partners; it would defend

the Union's interests in international trade and economic organizations and safeguard the commercial and political interests of the Union in the broad sense.

But such a plan could be adopted only on condition of the obligatory participation of the republics in all phases of the formulation and adoption of decisions in the foreign economic department and the possibility of really influencing their nature.

The second component is a customs authority applying customs duties and other instruments of trade policy in practice.

Such a plan, operating only under the conditions of the market economy, could, as we are seeing, satisfy everyone.

Realization of the goals—set by all the republic parliaments—of maximum association with the international division of labor requires adequate external support, which is directly connected with the conditions which other countries accord our goods, services, and capital. It is currently possible to purchase some commodity or other on the world market without any particular effort. But when selling, particularly for hard currency and unless the sole purpose is to acquire in exchange a "video" or a second-hand Toyota, the seller encounters various barriers and restrictions from customs duty through quality requirements. And further, the height of these barriers is in proportion to how processed the commodity is and reaches its peak for finished products. Participants in foreign economic relations have already run into this.

The USSR has a wide range of agreements with practically all trading partners. Such agreements with individual countries or communities improve considerably, by several orders of magnitude, the conditions for the foreign economic activity of both the country as a whole and the republics and individual enterprises and organizations. The rate of customs assessments is lowered and quantitative restrictions are reduced, for example.

Commercial and political agreements regulate questions of navigation and fishing, the status and conditions of the activity of our overseas economic offices, and a mass of other most important matters. And this provides real material benefits.

However, renunciation of the pursuit of a common foreign economic policy, a breakup of the customs integrity of the Union, and the pursuit of an autonomous trade policy would mean, aside from anything else, that each republic would have to independently conclude commercial and economic agreements with all countries and groups with which it intended trading.

Neither France nor the FRG, not to mention the small European countries, could ever in isolation have achieved today's influence in the world trade system without having united in the European Communities.

Having begun the formation of a customs union in 1957, 35 years later the EC countries are approaching the creation of an economic and currency union. It will very shortly impart a most powerful boost to the development of their economy and the entire European economic area.

We, however, are still moving downward toward autarky. Should we not stop at the extent and mechanism of the combination of supranational and sovereign economic components which have been reached by the 12 European countries? It should not be forgotten that CEMA failed to reach maturity largely because it lacked supranational functions.

Kryuchkov Discusses Fishery Protection in Pacific *90UF0503A Moscow TRUD in Russian 25 Aug 90 p 2*

["KGB Chairman V. Kryuchkov response to TRUD article on protection of Far East border: 'We Are for Continuation of the Discussion'"]

[Text] I would like first of all to express gratitude for the attention to problems of protection of the USSR's border on the Pacific coast which, it would seem, has been reflected in articles in the newspaper TRUD.

It has to be acknowledged plainly that a satisfactory solution of the majority of questions raised in the articles "Does the Country Need a 'Locked Border'" (TRUD, 23 May 1990) and "We Are Going To Intercept" (TRUD, 2 June 1990) will, in our opinion, depend to a considerable extent on the processes of normalization of Soviet-Japanese relations, the further development of the economic and social infrastructure of the Far East region, and a rise in the living standard of the local population.

The absence of bilateral legal instruments concerning the crossing of the border between the USSR and Japan, and the mutual responsibility of the contiguous states for compliance with it, is making a considerable impression on questions of protection of the border in this region.

Within the framework of the jurisdiction determined by current legislation, the USSR KGB and KGB Border Forces Main Administration as well as the Pacific Border District Directorate are taking steps to ensure protection of the marine resources of the region against plunder by way of a search for mutually acceptable solutions with the Japanese side and the curtailment of the illegal operations of its fishing boats.

Thus, on our initiative, the USSR Foreign Ministry and USSR Ministry of the Fish Industry repeatedly made representations to the Japanese side in 1987-1989 concerning the illegitimate operations of Japanese fishing vessels in the area of the Lesser Kurile chain, which unfortunately it rejected. The work being done by the USSR Ministry of the Fish Industry on the creation of Soviet-Japanese joint ventures in this area is not as yet being duly supported on the part of certain government

circles of Japan, despite the fact that a whole number of Japanese companies are displaying a very lively interest in these projects.

In 1989 we proposed the establishment of a channel of communications between the USSR KGB Border Forces Main Administration and Japan's Safety at Sea Agency for the prompt solution of questions arising at the border. But there was no response to our proposal.

We intend in the very near future to once again present to the Japanese side an initiative concerning a meeting at deputy chief level of the USSR KGB Border Forces and the Japanese Safety at Sea Agency in the South Kurile sector in order to again raise the question of the establishment of contacts and a channel of communications between these services.

As far as the question of the use of weapons against Japanese ship transgressors is concerned, our side is not at the present time resorting to such actions for understandable reasons.

The questions raised in the articles of the newspaper TRUD of an improvement in border control are pertinent, and the KGB and the border forces command are at the present time performing substantial and active work in this area. At the same time, in order not to delude the readers, I would like to make clear that the opening and development of crossing points and the creation of the necessary infrastructure at their location are, in accordance with the USSR law "The USSR State Border" and ordinances of the USSR Council of Ministers, within the jurisdiction of the USSR Council of Ministers and the Union republics and also the corresponding transport ministries.

We are for a continuation of the discussion on urgent problems of the development of our country's Far East region, the preservation of the riches of the USSR's economic zone and the life and labor of the land- and sea-based border guards of the Far East, and are prepared for our part to participate in this in your newspaper.

Workers Buy Out Butovo Nadezhda Enterprise

*PM3108105990 Moscow Television Service in Russian
1430 GMT 27 Aug 90*

[Report by L. Khatayevich and A. Gromov from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Excerpt] [Reporter] This enterprise no longer has the old signboard with the name Khimstekloplast that those who had been here before would recognize. The new name hasn't appeared yet—the Butovo Nadezhda Collective Enterprise.

What does the word Nadezhda ["Hope"]—your enterprise's new name—mean to you?

[First worker] Everyone hopes for a better life.

[Second worker] We must make more goods for the people so that the people do not just hope for our hope but actually get it.

[Third worker] Confidence in life. Stability at the enterprise. That is what we think in our collective.

[Reporter] This is a bird's eye view of the Butovo Nadezhda Collective Enterprise in the Moscow region. And this is its output—200 different types. From decorations for toys to construction materials. Its output is worth 27 million rubles [R] a year. It took these people 18 months to reach their current position—the position of real owners of the enterprise. These 18 months of leasing were a kind of schooling in economic management, as well as a period during which the funds necessary to buy out the enterprise were accumulated. The equipment, buildings, installations (taking account of depreciation), and operating capital all cost the collective almost R2 million. And today everyone who has become a member of the collective enterprise has a share of these millions up to R3,000. Moreover, they participate in the distribution of any additional profit earned on the basis of the year's results. But that right is enjoyed not by the 840 workers at the plant, but by the 650 members of the collective enterprise. The rest are hired workers who work on a contract basis, but the fate of each is in their own hands. The enterprise is run by directors chosen by the collective. That's the position they're starting from. [passage omitted]

'Constructive Changes' in Transbaykal Coal Mining

*PM0409132290 Moscow Television Service in Russian
0830 GMT 31 Aug 90*

[Report by A. Bardo from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer] Shortages are a terrible thing. And they are affecting an ever increasing number of areas. Our editorial office suffers from a shortage of positive information, for instance. Therefore the following report received from an open cut mine in the Transbaykal region immediately attracted our attention. Constructive changes are taking shape in this area rich in minerals and coal.

[Bardo] I must say straightaway that the situation has changed for the better, at least at the Vostochnyy Open Cut where this reportage was filmed. The situation today enables miners to believe in the bright future promised in the well-known USSR Council of Ministers Resolution No. 608. Powerful new equipment has arrived at the open cut, including new transport facilities, and the volume of stripping work has increased.

In these conditions they are managing to cope fairly successfully even with the aftermath of the recent floods which brought so much trouble to the Transbaykal region.

There is no denying that the floods caused a lot of damage. Some 100,000 tonnes of coal, stripped and ready for extraction, are under water.

In other words, the "gimme, gimme" principle no longer applies.

And what is the situation as regards the enterprise's independence, its withdrawal from the Vossibugol association?

[S.L. Shiryayev, director of the open cut] We debated this for a long time, both in the collective and at association level, and we unanimously reached the conclusion that for the time being we must remain within the association no matter what it calls itself, be it association or concern or whatever. We must remain part of it.

[Bardo] To be fair I must say that the attitude of the sector leaders to the miners' needs and requirements has fundamentally changed. Here is an example. From next year, the open cut has been authorized to market 10 percent of its coal output—the difference between the plan and the state order—by itself on the foreign market if it wants to.

Agricultural

'Alarming' Figures Published on Harvest Progress

Orders Only Half Fulfilled

PM3108160190 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA
in Russian 1 Sep 90 First Edition p 1

[Unattributed report under the rubric "Harvest-90":
"Alarming Harvest Figures"]

[Text] By 28 August grain had been threshed on 53.1 million hectares, or 53 percent of the sown area. At this time last year the harvest had been gathered from 76 million hectares.

More than 146 million tonnes of grain has been threshed, of which 14 million tonnes during the last week. However, only 43.6 million tonnes, or one-third of the harvest, has been delivered to elevators.

In the Russian Federation grain has been threshed on 52 percent of the sown area.

During the past week only 3.5 million tonnes of grain has been sold to the state—1.8 million tonnes less than during the previous week.

The state order has been fulfilled only 51 percent to date. Farms in Stavropol'ye, the Don region, Kalmyk ASSR [Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic], and Bryansk and Orel Oblasts have fulfilled all their pledges.

Gorbachev Expresses 'Alarm'

LD0409180290 Moscow Television Service in Russian
1700 GMT 4 Sep 90

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] We have just been told that Gorbachev, our country's president, has sent the following telegram. The USSR president has made it incumbent on the leaders of the Union and autonomous republics, krais, and oblasts to adopt measures without delay to fulfill the state orders on grain sales and to enhance the performance discipline and responsibility of cadres at all levels for solving this most important task. The telegram sent by Gorbachev to the localities notes that there is a real opportunity to create a reliable food fund to provide the population with grain products and to safeguard the requirements of animal husbandry for fodder.

At the same time the situation concerning grain sales to the state that has taken shape in the country as a whole is giving rise to serious concern and alarm. Numerous collective and state farms unjustifiably delay the transport of grain to granaries, violate contractual discipline, and jeopardize forming state stocks.

The telegram notes that as a consequence of groundlessly holding back the interrepublican transport of grain and grain products, difficulties in supplying the population with grain products have, already at this stage, emerged in a number of union republics and oblasts.

In these conditions the president of the USSR regards instances of diverting resources to regional needs and neglecting the interests of the statewide task to create the essential grain reserves as impermissible.

August Weather, Crop Production Data Reported

Mid-August Figures

904B0284A Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN
in Russian 25 Aug 90 First Edition p 1

[Report by agrometeorologist Ye. Solovyeva: "The Weather and the Crops"]

[Text] Mild warm weather is being observed on the European territory of the USSR. The average temperature for the second 10 days of August was 17-23 degrees, which for the majority of areas was close to the yearly average. In the northern half of the zone the early spring-sown grain crops have ripened. Over a large part of the territory the conditions for harvesting were unfavorable on account of the rain—20 to 40 mm, more than 50 mm in places—and the high humidity, and in a number of areas on account of the overmoisture of the upper soil layer and the lodging of the crops. The shattering of grain, blackening of the cereals, and in places sprouting have been observed. In Moldova, on the bulk of the territory of the Ukraine and the North Caucasus region, and in the southern Volga region, the conditions for harvesting operations were good in the main. The sowing of winter grain crops was conducted

within the optimum times over a large part of the northern, Urals, and Volga-Vyatskiy areas and in the northern Volga region. Shoots have appeared on the winter rye sown 13-15 August. Their condition is predominantly good.

The waxy ripeness of the cobs has set in in the zone of cultivation of corn for grain; milky ripeness is observed in the remaining areas. In southern Ukraine, Moldova, and on a large part of the North Caucasus region the conditions for grain forming were unfavorable due to the lack of soil moisture.

In the beet-sowing areas the conditions of the formation of the root-crop harvest were predominantly favorable, and it was only in Moldova, the southern oblasts of the Ukraine, and Krasnodar Kray—where the crops are retaining insufficient moisture—that the root-vegetable increase was slight.

The ripening of sunflower has begun. The diameter of the calathide is 17-25 cm. The conditions for the forming of the seeds were good, in the main.

A blighting of the plant tops five to ten days ahead of the yearly average times has been observed with potatoes in Belorussia and Lithuania; in places in the northwest, central, and central-Chernozem areas; in the western and northern oblasts of the Ukraine; and over a large part of the Volga area. The conditions for the growth of tubers were satisfactory in the main. A thinning of the plants by pests and disease has been observed in a number of places, and where the soil is overmoist the rotting of tubers.

It was warmer than usual in the farming areas of Siberia and Kazakhstan. The average temperature for the 10 days was one to three degrees above the perennial average. It turned colder at the end of the 10-day period. Frosts were observed on the soil surface in places in Tyumen and Omsk Oblasts. A ripening of the early spring-sown crops was observed in the majority of fields of the cropping zone of Siberia and Kazakhstan's northern oblasts. The forming of the grain on the late sowings has been completed. The conditions for this were favorable, in the main. Owing to the heavy drenching rains, a marked lodging of the crops has been observed in eastern Novosibirsk Oblast and Altay Kray, over a large part of Kemerovo Oblast and Krasnoyarsk Kray, and in the south of Irkutsk Oblast. The flowering on the corn of the tassel and the cob continues, the stage of the milky ripeness of the grain has arrived for the corn of the early sowing times, and flowering on the sunflower is ending and ripening has begun in places in the northern oblasts of Kazakhstan and in Western Siberia.

In Central Asia and Chimkent Oblast the conditions of the forming of the cotton-plant harvest continued favorable. Some seven to ten bolls, and in a number of oblasts 11-14, had formed by 20 August which is one to two more than last year's and the yearly average quantity. Certain areas of Turkmenia and Tajikistan have embarked on selective harvesting. In Azerbaijan the number of bolls which have formed per plant on average

is approximately seven, which is fewer than the average yearly and last year's average.

Late August Figures

904B0287A Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN
in Russian 31 Aug 90 First Edition p 1

[Article by N. Osychkin under the rubric "The Harvest: Day After Day": "Commentary: Autumn Will Be Demanding"]

[Text] The calendar beginning with autumn is coming soon, although autumn already announced itself at the end of August with rains and cold winds. The most anxious period of urgent field work has arrived for the country's farm workers. They still have to gather almost half the grain crops, lay in sufficient stores of food and fodder for the winter, and put down a firm foundation for next year's harvest. In other words, they are up to their ears in work, and bad weather is holding up the course of work first in one region and then in another. Data from the USSR Goskomstat [State Committee for Statistics] on the harvest's progress since the beginning of the season and for the past week provide proof of this.

By 27 August 53.1 million hectares of grain and legume crops (excluding corn) were threshed—53 percent of the area under crops. Last year 76 million hectares were harvested by this time. Slower ripening of the crops and significantly poorer preparations for the harvest had an effect. Across the week 7.3 million hectares of grain were threshed, 500,000 less than during the previous week. Grain yields also decreased somewhat although they are rather respectable over all—27.5 quintals from each hectare which is 7.3 quintals more than at the beginning of September last year. Each hectare on the kolkhozes [collective farms] and sovkhozes [state farms] of the Ukraine yielded 37.4 quintals of grain; in the SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] of Moldova, 36.7; in Lithuania, 34.4; in Belorussia, 32.7; and in Latvia, 30.7 quintals. In all, 146 million tons of grain were collected around the country, including 14 million for the week.

What is the pace of the harvest in the various Union republics? In the Russian Federation 52 percent of crops have been threshed; in the Ukraine, 94; in Belorussia, 86; in Kazakhstan, 23; in Lithuania, 90; in Latvia, 70; in Kirghizia, 75; in Armenia, 62; and in Estonia, 70. Although there are significant differences among these figures, they prove that a tremendous amount of work is still ahead in many zones of the country to harvest and transport grain if we are not to stretch the harvest far into autumn and if we wish to avert harvest losses in the fields and on the threshing floors, roads, and elevators.

The situation arouses serious alarm in several oblasts and autonomous republics of the Central, Northwest, Ural, and Volga-Vyatka economic regions of the Russian Federation where the harvest has been underway for about three weeks, and only a little more than half the crops have been gathered. The reason is simple; periodic rains have been hindering the drivers of combines and

trucks. But in Orlov Oblast they managed to harvest more than 72 percent of the crops under the same conditions, in Bryansk Oblast—74 percent, in Ryazan Oblast—66 percent, and in the Udmurt ASSR [Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic]—68 percent. But indicators on the course of the harvest are two to three times lower on the farms in the Novgorod, Tver, Kostroma, and Chelyabinsk regions. Consequently it is not so much a matter of the weather as it is of the ability to organize work under difficult circumstances and ensure good working relations across all the links in the harvest and transport chain.

As the experience of this year's harvest shows, it is important not to allow grain to accumulate on the threshing floors but to ensure that it is systematically transported to the elevators and the kolkhoz and sovkhoz warehouses. Unfortunately efforts in that quarter have not been completely successful. Almost 150 million tons of grain have already been threshed across the country, a significant portion of which is uncovered. At the same time only 43.6 million tons have reached the elevators, one-third of what has been harvested. It seemed that the pace of grain sales should increase in autumn since all the prerequisites were in place. However only 3.5 million tons were sold for the week in review, 1.8 million tons less than during the preceding week. And in the meantime 51 percent of the state purchasing order has been fulfilled. The farms of Stavropol; the Don; the Kalmyk ASSR; Khabarovsk Kray; and Bryansk, Orlov, Donetsk, Volyn, Minsk, and Mogilev Oblasts have managed to cope with it. The kolkhozes and sovkhozes of the Kuban and Belgorod, Lipetsk, Zaporozhye, Nikolayev, and other oblasts are close behind.

But in a number of places an artificial holdup in the transportation of grain to state granaries has been noted. How else can one explain the fact that in Moldova, with a grain yield of 36.7 quintals per hectare, commodity output was only 12 percent while 33 percent of the state order was fulfilled? Commodity output in Lithuania stopped at 20 percent, Latvia at 12 percent, and Estonia at two percent, although in these cases there is a great distance to go before fulfilling state orders. The farms of Saratov, Ulyanovsk, Kuybyshev, Ryazan, and Tula Oblasts sold far less grain to the state last week than for the preceding week.

The harvest operations front is moving to the country's eastern regions where a good harvest has been raised, especially in Kazakhstan, despite adverse weather conditions. Right now the harvest is at its height. Out of 22.5 million hectares of grain, 5.2 million have been threshed, almost a quarter of the crops. The average yield from a hectare is five quintals higher than last year's. The republic's farms have effectively been provided with everything they need to gather the harvest without losses: They have been supplied with equipment, accumulators, fuel, and lubricants, and more machine operators have

been sent. In short, everything has been done to sharply increase the pace of mowing, threshing, and transporting grain to the state granaries.

Of course the agricultural work days are not filled with grain alone. On the kolkhozes and sovkhozes 4.6 million hectares of corn have been harvested. This is 23 percent of the crops. In a number of places they are just beginning to collect the mature cobs. The corn harvest is distinguished by its mixed character. Some 277,000 hectares of flax have been harvested—36 percent of the crops. Of the vegetables, 167,000 hectares have been collected—16 percent. The farms are beginning to dig potatoes. This work must go quickly because it will be more difficult to do in the bad weather of autumn and losses will be inevitable.

It is important to give a special significance at this time to the creation of a firm basis for next year's harvest. The first six million hectares of winter crops have been sown. This is significantly less than at the beginning of September last year. There are many reasons for this such as lack of preparation of the soil (62 percent of what is required) and poor supplies of seeds, equipment, and other material and technical resources to a number of farms. Some 10 million hectares have been plowed for autumn, eight million less than for last year at this time.

Our success in resolving the difficulties in supplying the country's population with food depend on how quickly and well the workers of the agro-industrial complex harvest the crops, how much fodder they store, and how they prepare for next year's crop. With the approaching autumn the party committees are called upon to ensure broad interaction between the soviets, the trade unions, the Komsomol, and other public organizations and to unite their efforts in the resolution of the day's main task—harvesting the crops. The situation requires more decisive action on the part of central and local organs in the mobilization of the forces of the rural and city populations and of all the material resources to provide for a timely and high-quality harvest, proper storage of all the harvested crops, and fulfillment of the state order for deliveries of grain and other products.

The harvest must continue every hour. Farm workers, autumn is on the way!

Rain Thwarts Special Measures To Gather Harvest

PM3108142790 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
31 Aug 90 Morning Edition p 1

["Topic of the Day" article by V. Konovalov: "What If Rain Were Banned?"]

[Excerpt] It appeared that the time had come when the "emergency measures" would at last take effect on the harvest. Extra equipment had been moved into the fields. Tanks had been charged with fuel obtained from reserve stocks, after a search. People recruited from the cities had arrived in the countryside...

The rain began to pour. The emergency situation became even more of an emergency. Insofar as the major force assembled to do battle for the harvest was faced with a soggy, impassable field of "battle."

According to reports by TASS and our correspondents, the situation is particularly difficult at the moment in Russia's unfortunate rural Nonchernozem zone. There is a fine harvest of grain, vegetables, and potatoes here, a rarity in recent years. At first the harvest was hampered by organizational disarray, now it is the bad weather.

The additional equipment, its tanks filled with reserve fuel, is powerless. In Novgorod Oblast the rain has made it impossible to harvest potatoes by machine—they had to switch to manual digging. In Yaroslavl Oblast the grain fields are now impassable as far as combines are concerned. Unless the weather improves, according to experts, part of the winter grain crops, which have lodged, will simply have to be cut for bulk feed while the hectares sown for seed will have to be harvested by hand. The weather is also preventing the grain growers from getting into the fields in Tver Oblast, and they have only managed to cut 18.5 percent of the grain area there. The situation is similar in many other Russian oblasts that were caught unawares by the rain.

We were told at the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic State Committee for Statistics that the republic as a whole is lagging well behind last year's harvesting rate and the rainy weather could make it even worse. Some 33.1 million hectares of grain have been cut; it was 46.9 million by the same time last year. Some 29.4 million hectares have been threshed; last year it was 44.5 million. The much higher yield—25.6 quintals per hectare, compared with 18.3—does not help either; in fact, only 75.4 million tonnes of grain have been threshed so far compared with 81.3 million last year.

The lag is even more serious when it comes to potatoes. An area twice as large had been harvested by this time last year. [passage omitted]

'Unprecedented' Bashkir Grain Crop in Jeopardy

*PM3108140590 Moscow Television Service in Russian
1430 GMT 30 Aug 90*

[Report by M. Gafurov and V. Zhelyabov from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer] The grain farmers of Bashkiria are already threshing grain crops on the second million hectares. A report from our correspondent.

[Reporter] The harvest has been unprecedented. For instance, on Salavat Kolkhoz [Collective Farm] in Sterlitamakskiy Rayon the average grain yield has been 38 quintals per hectare. There are farms in the republic where winter rye has produced 50 quintals and more. This is one of Bashkiria's new silos. Its containers are a kind of vacuum bottle shape. They are made not out of

the usual reinforced concrete, but out of metal structures supplied through the CEMA from Czechoslovakia.

[K.N. Kashalov, director of Belozerskiy silo] When it was raining we accepted anything without restriction on humidity. All kinds of crops were brought to the kolkhoz—rye, peas, and other crops. We took everything with no restrictions.

[Reporter] You have got the capacity?

[Kashalov] We have got the capacity. Our drying equipment is powerful. There is a steady stream of trucks. There are no holdups as regards reception. We have now set up a laboratory. We have two positions working. And we have two automatic weighing facilities working. We are going to set up a third position.

[Reporter] But we saw a different picture at the Sterlitamak Grain Products Combine. There were lines of trucks waiting. Moreover, not all the hoists are working. The night before we arrived electricity to the silos was cut off. And while we were there a transformer broke down. And it was hard to watch the way combine director Comrade Akhmetov had to distribute kerosene lamps—there were not enough to go round. Unfortunately, this is not the only holdup in the Bashkir grain harvesting system. And although around 1 million tonnes of Bashkir grain—that is, more than half the amount planned under contracts—has already reached the state granaries, there is no confidence that the republic's rich harvest will be brought in without losses.

Unloading Delays Blamed for Produce Shortages

*PM0509095790 Moscow Television Service in Russian
1700 GMT 1 Sep 90*

[Report by A. Kozhukhova from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer] Now about the harvest. The vegetable crop is said to be good, but where are all these vegetables?

[Kozhukhova] When, if not at the height of the season, should fruit and vegetables be plentiful in the stores and at the most accessible prices?

Unfortunately their delivery is subject to great disruptions and the choice, as you can see, is limited.

Cooperative growers bring truckloads of fruit and melons to Moscow. There is no denying that the quality is good. This adds color to an otherwise gloomy picture. The problem is that the prices are clearly beyond many people's means.

And what about our main transport conveyor, the railroads? They account for two-thirds of the volume of transportation of perishable goods. Time does not stand still. And this year the target is higher than last year, totaling around 17 million tonnes.

[V.F. Krylov, chief of the Ministry of Railways department for the transportation of agro-industrial complex freight] In principle, we transport 75 percent of the annual volume of freight in the three months between August and October. This is one of the peak months for transporting fruit and vegetable produce.

At the moment around 3,000 railroad freightcars are loaded with fruit and vegetables daily. The main destinations of these shipments are without question Moscow, Leningrad—the extreme north is in the forefront at the moment—and of course all the country's other industrial centers. Between 150 and 200 carloads of all kinds of produce including fruit, vegetables, grapes, and melons are dispatched to Moscow daily at the moment. Imported apples are beginning to arrive from Hungary.

The volume of transportation is about to increase as potato shipments begin. Together with the Moscow State Agro-Industrial Committee, we have worked out a schedule for the dispatch of potatoes from Belorussia, from Bryansk Oblast, and from other regions—mainly Moscow Oblast, Ryazan, Smolensk, and Kaluga Oblasts. As from 5 or 7 September mass shipments of potatoes will begin.

[Kozhukhova] Would you say that enough freight is being delivered?

[Krylov] In my opinion enough is being delivered. However, it has happened before that there were 20,000 tonnes of tomatoes at Moscow depots and no tomatoes in the stores.

[Announcer] Refrigerator cars awaiting unloading are held up at Moscow's Lyublino, Kuskovo, Vladykino, Sortirovochnaya, and Kievskaya stations. In the port of Murmansk 110 freightcars with potatoes are waiting to be unloaded. Freightcars are held up in Arkhangelsk. At Osetrovo port, 80 refrigerator cars are waiting to be unloaded onto ships plying the Lena River. Some freightcars have been there since 4-15 July. They should have been returned to Central Asia long ago so that grapes and other fruit and vegetables can be shipped out.

Unshippable Kharkov Fruit Crop 'May Be Lost'

PM0409142890 Moscow Television Service in Russian
1430 GMT 31 Aug 90

[Report by V. Pidchenko from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer] There is a bumper fruit crop in Kharkov Oblast. The problem is how to save it from perishing and get it to the consumers.

[Pidchenko] They did not expect such a bumper crop here this year. At the Komsomolskaya Pravda Sovkhoz [state farm] where this report was filmed, the fruit crop is 150 percent above the plan target. It totals more than 15,000 tonnes. You might think that this is a cause for joy. However Aleksandr Grigoryevich Soroka, the sovkhoz director, is very worried.

[Soroka] The entire crop may be lost. The farm has no packaging materials. We have the goods but no packaging materials. We have many suppliers, mainly in the north. A lot of our produce—some 6,000 tonnes—is intended for the north, for Sverdlovsk, Kemerovo, Khabarovsk, and other regions.

[Pidchenko] Maybe the northerners do not want your apples?

[Soroka] But they do. They are asking for them by cable, they are buying our produce at contract prices. I know that apples cost between two and five rubles in the north at the moment. We are marketing them at state prices, 40-60 kopeks for early varieties and 70-80 kopeks for winter apples. The problem is that the north itself is refusing to supply us with packaging materials.

[Pidchenko] Why, for what reason?

[Soroka] I have no idea. For instance, Ivanovo was supposed to supply us with 800 cubic meters of crate wood. They have sent us nothing apart from cables. They have suggested sending timber boards. Anything but packaging materials. What is the use of growing crops like this one if they subsequently perish? I am convinced that tomorrow the state will be buying the same kind of produce abroad.

Grain Prices Promise Losses in Vladimir Oblast

PM0409113490 Moscow Television Service in Russian
1700 GMT 30 Aug 90

[Report by S. Vetoshkin from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer] According to USSR State Committee for Statistics information, grain had been cut on 59 million hectares, or 59 percent of the area sown, by 27 August. The harvest is not proceeding without problems everywhere. Rains have set in in the central region for instance, and subsequently other troubles were added to the vagaries of the weather.

[Vetoshkin] There has not been a bumper grain crop like this one in Vladimir Oblast for a long time. But take a look how difficult it is to harvest. The grain is damp, it tends to clog up the [combine harvester] drums. Despite these conditions, average yields here, on the Krasnyy Oktyabr Kolkhoz [Collective Farm] in Yuryev-Polskiy Rayon, total around 40 quintals. And the farm is not only coping with the harvest by means of its own resources but has even managed to release a number of trucks for other urgent needs.

[Unidentified farm official] The reason is that for the second year running all arable land has been handed over to a leasehold cooperative. All work, all agricultural work is going well although there are only half as many people.

[Vetoshkin] How come? After all the same people are working on the combine harvesters?

[Same official] You are right, it is the same people. I believe that the fact that people are working in a cooperative under the leasehold system has made a big difference. They are now working for themselves. That is to say, everything they make minus the expenses is divided up between the cooperative members.

[Vetoshkin] No doubt, the new grain procurement prices will help your cooperatives to better establish themselves?

[Same official] For the grain-growing rayons in the south the new prices will be a big boost. For us farms in the Non-Chernozem Zone, the prices will be at best the same as last year, but in the majority of cases they will mean losses I think. Our estimates confirm this. This is because we produce mainly feed grain.

[Vetoshkin] Strange as it may seem, the new procurement prices promise nothing but losses for farms in the Non-Chernozem Zone. While delivering 130,000 tonnes of grain to the state, these Vladimir Oblast farms are having to dispatch couriers to the south to get feed grain so that their livestock does not starve in the winter. Whereas in past years the oblast spent approximately 60 million rubles [R] per year for this purpose, R110 million may not be enough this year in view of the current prices. But now there are no subsidies, no bonuses for quality or above-plan deliveries of grain. So how are the local kolkhozes and sovkhozes [state farms] supposed to make ends meet? Are they to rip off consumers by sharply raising their prices for meat and milk? Judging by appearances, this is what is will come to.

Equipment Problems Hold Up Crop Harvesting Work

PM0509133990 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
4 Sep 90 Morning Edition p 1

[Report by V. Konovalov under the rubric "On Topics of the Day": "Weather Not To Blame"]

[Excerpt] For a real peasant there is no difference between agricultural work for the "shock front" and work for a so-called "non-shock front." Everything needs to be done in time and conscientiously or else the most fertile land in the best weather will not support you.

For instance, in the tense days of the harvest feed procurement must not be forgotten. Even now, in the fall, it is not just chickens that are being counted. It is time to estimate how the feed store for the cattle's wintering will be arranged. In comparison with last year things are noticeably behind here. Sixty-five million tonnes of silage have been procured, while last year by this date it was 90 million. Ten million tonnes less hay—only 60 million tonnes—have been laid in. Preparation of grass meal and other artificially dried feeds also lags behind last year's tempos.

What is holding up the work? As IZVESTIYA and TASS correspondents report, complaints now are least of all about the truly capricious weather. On the other hand,

feed procurement workers in various areas of the country virtually with one voice complain of shortages of equipment and spare parts.

In Altay, for instance, the harvesting is being made drastically more difficult by a shortage of silage combines, especially of the "Khersonets" combine so necessary this year for high-yielding plantations. In Novosibirsk Oblast virtually all the feed procurement equipment is today in short supply: For instance, 44 percent fewer mowers than stipulated were allocated, 75 percent fewer hay stackers, and so forth.... But even deliveries of this "allocated" equipment break down now and then, and the equipment which does manage to get through to villagers frequently stands idle owing to a lack of belts, batteries, tires.... At the present time feed procurement workers in a number of oblasts of the Russian Non-Chernozem Zone, the Volga region, the Urals, and Siberia are in a similar situation. [passage omitted]

Military

Gorbachev Issues Decree on Army Political Organs

LD0409153990 Moscow TASS in English 1531 GMT
4 Sep 90

[Text] Moscow September 4 TASS—A decree by President Mikhail Gorbachev to reform the political bodies of the Soviet Armed Forces, the troops of the State Security Committee, the Interior Ministry and Railway Troops was circulated here today.

Gorbachev acted in compliance with changes incorporated in the USSR Constitution by the Third Special Congress of People's Deputies of the USSR and the policy for delineating government and Communist Party functions.

He decided to reform the political bodies of the Soviet Armed Forces, the troops of the State Security Committee, the Interior Ministry and Railway Troops into military and political bodies to pursue state policy in the USSR's defence and security and to ensure the education and social protection of servicemen.

The Soviet Defence Ministry and the chief political department of the Soviet [words indistinct] Navy, together with the KGB and the Interior Ministry, are instructed to work out draft regulations on military and political bodies within three months and to submit these regulations for consideration in an established order.

The decree says that practical measures to reform political bodies will be carried out in the context of ongoing military reform, taking into account tasks being tackled by the Army and Navy.

Defense Aspects of Union Treaty Discussed

PM0409141790 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA
in Russian 4 Sep 90 First Edition p 2

[Report by Colonel A. Belousov: "The Future Nature of Defense"]

[Text] The future all-Union treaty is attracting more and more attention. Consultations between plenipotentiary representatives of Union republics and USSR Supreme Soviet working groups were already held during the first stage. It was deemed expedient to set up a preparatory committee which would comprise the top leaders of Union republics, the USSR president, the chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, and the chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers. As for the expert groups whose purpose is to assist the committee's work, they have already embarked on discussions of the all-Union treaty's details.

The group of experts on problems of defense, military policy, state security, and border protection began its work in Moscow 31 August. Representatives of the Russian, Belorussian, Turkmen, Kazakh, Tajik, and Kirghiz Union republics; USSR people's deputies; and USSR Ministry of Defense experts took part in the exchange of opinions on that day. The conversation began with a discussion of the main point: What should our Armed Forces be like? Should they be a single interlinked complex functioning on the basis of decisions made by the top organs of USSR state power, or should the republics autonomously decide questions of defense?

V. Panferov, acting chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers State Committee for Military Questions; Belorussian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] People's Deputies L. Privalov and V. Gribanov; Kazakh SSR People's Deputy T. Zhumasultanov; Turkmen SSR People's Deputy P. Korotkiy; Tajik SSR Representative A. Abdurozinov; and Kirghiz SSR Representative S. Iskakov supported in principle the view expressed by military experts headed by Lieutenant General of Aviation M. Kuznetsov; Colonel V. Ochirov, deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Committee for Defense and State Security Questions; and I. Novoselov, consultant of a USSR Supreme Soviet Secretariat Section; and spoke in favor of unified Armed Forces. This was preceded by quite heated debates, and differences of opinions on individual issues emerged even between members of the same delegations. Military questions which are the exclusive province of union republics also became topics of considered discussion.

G. Tarazevich, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Soviet of Nationalities Commission for Nationalities Policy and Interethnic Relations, addressed the representatives of union republics and specialists 1 September.

The expert groups continue their work.

Urals Bacteriological Accident Suspected in 1979

90SV0013A Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA
in Russian No 34, 22 Aug 90 p 12

[Article by Natalya Zenova, LITERATURNAYA GAZETA special correspondent for the Urals: "Military Secret: Reasons for the Tragedy in Sverdlovsk Must Be Investigated"]

[Text] "In the spring of 1968 in the American state of Utah...not far from the military experimentation center for chemical and biological weapons at Dugway, 6,400 sheep suddenly dropped dead.

"Military officials denied any involvement in this event, maintaining an innocent air over the course of eight months. Under the pressure of evidence, however, they were forced to acknowledge 'a slight mistake' committed while testing a new variety of weapon.

"Wind direction changed unexpectedly," an Army representative stated, explaining that the sheep had entered a lethal cloud.

"And what if the wind had carried it in the other direction?" a correspondent asked. "There could be a city there!"

Thus begins a frightening fantasy concerning the destiny of a fictitious city written by American author Henry Sattou. A translation of his novel "Thunder Amidst Clear Skies" (American title—"Vector") was published by NASH SOVREMENNİK in 1977.

Yes, There Could Be a City There

Magazine book excerpts lie on my desk, read and reread with pencil in hand.... But not at all because the novel staggers with its artistic sophistication—it looks adequate from that point of view, but no better than that. And in no way for the reason the editors had hoped for, predicting that the novel "will attract the Soviet reader's attention by its antimilitarist orientation," or that it "truthfully reveals the inhumanity of the American military-industrial complex...."

For me "Thunder Amidst Clear Skies" is not simply a menacing futuristic warning. And the destruction of its heroes is not just the death of literary characters. The novel directs my thoughts far from "there"; on the contrary, it rivets them to something that occurred "here."

...At that time too it was spring. And people also fell sick for unexplained reasons. And they too died in torment. And even the number of victims was about the same.

Yes, I am today firmly convinced that in the spring of 1979 a deadly cloud arose over our military center and the wind carried it precisely in the direction where not only "there could be a city," but where my native Sverdlovsk was.

Understanding the responsibility of such a statement, I cannot waste newspaper space on emotion—I need to use it for proof. For those who want to experience psychologically exactly what happened, I refer to the above-mentioned novel of H. Satton—everything there is “one to one,” as many of the people from my region believe.

And so it was April of 1979. At first rumors began to spread of sudden deaths—“medicine doesn’t help at all!” Then conversations concerning some old woman who sold the meat of either a sheep or cow that had fallen dead, about a dug-up cattle burial ground. At the same time warnings appeared in local newspapers: Cattle in the Urals have been weakened by the difficult winter. They are prone to infection and therefore it is possible—you will note, just possible!—that there will be incidents of malignant anthrax infection. And not a word here regarding outbreaks of sickness of any kind among animals or people.

But people were dying. Primarily men of healthy age, and basically from the same area. And the area was a very suspicious one—Chkalovskiy—where the so-called 19th military installation is located. What was going on inside the entry gate of this closed station along the Sverdlovsk city line no one had a right to know; but there were many, of course, who knew. In any case they knew bacteriologists were working there. That is why, as soon as the geography of the center was revealed, there was an immediate drop in interest shown in the old woman with the sheep and precautionary notices regarding meat. And someone else heard “a voice from over the knoll” telling of a “bacteriological explosion” in Sverdlovsk. Some people saw with their own eyes how in Chkalovskiy Rayon they were washing down the sidewalks, roads, and roofs with soap; removing the topmost soil layer; and rushing to put down asphalt in places where asphalt had never been. It was also noticed that people in protective clothing were taking some kind of samples near the installation....

A panic grew....

I admit, none of us local journalists rushed out to the ramparts at that time. I remember well how at VECHERKA where I worked, the telephone suddenly began to ring with its desperate, intercity ring and our official secretary, alternately turning red and growing pale, jumped out into the corridor. At this the entire editorial staff gathered by the doors, gazing with horror at the instrument by which a correspondent from some American newspaper had just gotten through to our closed city. The telephone rang again, and the most despairing among us warily took the phone and said, muzzling the language: “Alo, who’sis? Well, ain’t no one here....”

Later everything calmed down. And for many years no one dug up this burial ground of oblivion.... But people remained witnesses of what had taken place, and primarily the doctors.

Doctors’ Testimony

N. Bezrukov, anesthesiologist, Hospital No. 20

“I was in charge of a resuscitation division. Suddenly sick people started coming in one after another diagnosed with ‘pneumonia.’ When five or six of them had amassed, all with the same clinical picture and speed of departure—to the morgue—we began to suspect some kind of especially dangerous infection. You understand, the symptoms were unlike those of pneumonia; everything flared up instantaneously and went to emphysema. The patients died on an artificial respirator, receiving tremendous doses of medicine.

“Then a culture arrived from our laboratory—probably malignant anthrax, but not absolutely for certain.... What struck us? The batch was painfully the same—men somewhere around forty, although two women also died.

“And how were they buried? In the city there was talk of lead caskets....

“The first six were buried in the usual manner—after all, we did not have the right diagnosis yet and wrote ‘bacterial pneumonia.’ The last six went as ‘malignant anthrax.’ There were no lead caskets—the coffins were coated with black tar.

“Now we waited—expecting symptoms to appear very soon in ourselves. After all, it was clear that the infection was spread by airborne particles. We decided to stay here so as not to take the contamination home. And everyone stayed—all the doctors, all the nurses.... There was even a pregnant one who never left her post. The days passed—no one came down with any symptoms.”

“And what conclusion did you arrive at?”

“That genetic engineering was at work here, creating such extremely effective bacteria that would selectively strike residents of a certain age, those capable of carrying a weapon. And no one was being contaminated by contact. To this day we do not know what kind of carrier it was, by what means contamination occurred. If it were the esophagus, family members would come down with it. If it were airborne particles, we would have been contaminated.”

N.A., doctor

“I am not a microbiologist, of course, but in my opinion we were dealing with some kind of anthrax apparently mixed with plague. The properties were similar to both. And they were dead-end properties—it was not passed on any further by an individual it had struck. One must give it its due—it was an astounding thing. It struck precisely those people who were needed.”

“What was this thing then in Sverdlovsk?”

“There can be no doubt—what we had was waste from a bacteriological weapon.”

“You were at Hospital No. 40 at that time?”

"First I was at No. 20, then No. 40 as a member of an emergency anti-epidemic commission. Everything began during my watch. First I had three people die. The same thing continued a second day.... Then we started soul-searching and consulting our leading experts.... They took a culture. Laboratory results led us to the idea that clearly something was wrong here. Then we took a map of the area and wind rose, looked at it, and saw that they were all coming from the same place. From here one didn't have to be a genius—everyone knows we have the 19th military installation.

"Then came civilian people, military people. Although I was on the emergency epidemic commission, we had no information whatsoever. When we started to ask questions, they let us know very politely but very firmly that it would be better to be silent. I was especially struck by a professor from Moscow. He was an expert, of course, and had a very fine manner of speaking, but it is simply amazing how he was able to concoct such nonsense—to talk so prettily at length about nothing."

"Do you have any figures to operate with?"

"No. I can only say that about 500 beds were prepared for hospitalization."

"And how do you relate to how closed we are on this subject?"

"What do we have, what do we not have.... Everyone prefers to remain silent concerning bacteriological weapons. It is indecent to talk about this in decent society."

B. Zislina, doctor of medical sciences, chief anesthesiologist of the region

"At that time I was consulting in the intensive care department of Hospital No. 20. I saw several patients at the same time with the same symptoms, and I was convinced that this was a serious contagion with which I was unfamiliar. It immediately affects all the organs—the lungs, the brain, and the kidneys...."

"And did the people die quickly?"

"One woman was a little better off and still conscious. She told me that everything began with a feverish chill, and that soon she was short of breath. They quickly put her on artificial respiration too and, like the others, she died. I found this suspicious. I immediately telephoned the regional public health department. I requested that the military reveal whether this was their doing. A half hour later they called me and said that everything was fine with the military...."

"Several years have passed.... What is your opinion today?"

"They were obligated to speak up. Secrets are secrets, but I believe that more than 70 people died.... Perhaps they managed to save some of them."

"But let us suppose, God forbid of course, that something similar happens again. How will you and your colleagues react?"

"If I see something like that again, I will find out...."

"If it is something like that. But might you see something quite different?"

"I do not think so. But if... I suppose that the military people will not hide it in the future. They do not have the right!"

An Open Secret

"They do not have the right...!"

Back then the military denied everything. And now?

This spring, the article "19th Installation" was published in the oblast newspaper URALSKIY RABOCHIY. It brought out into the open the military point of view on the events of 1979. Journalist S. Plotnikov visited that installation together with members of a representative delegation. This spared me the trouble of following that same trail and asking those same questions. Incidentally, I have reason to believe that the "stir" around the long-buried subject began after the interest shown in it on the part of the LITERATURNAYA GAZETA correspondent. But that is off the subject.

The article talks about the visit to the military installation or, more accurately, the military epidemiology sector of the Scientific Research Institute for Microbiology of the USSR Ministry of Defense. Yes, the military admits, earlier "the institute studied the technology and production of vaccinations for the protection of servicemen and the population from a number of dangerous infections." Today the center is on a cost accounting basis, and as a result it is quite interested in cooperating with "civilians": It has communicated facts in detail in the areas where it was possible. Such facts, of course, are important. But I imagine that the residents of Sverdlovsk were cheered up most of all by the news that production of vaccinations "for defense of troops and the population" ceased here in 1986....

But what happened when the previous work was still in full swing? Colonel A. Kharechko, chief of the military epidemiology sector, gives an explanation. I quote: "The rumors which were going around the city in the spring of 1979 to the effect that an explosion took place on the territory of our institution and that the anthrax pathogen was discharged into the external environment do not have any real basis, primarily because we have never had any explosions of any sort."

But what about discharges? They happen on a regular basis even to this day. A few paragraphs later it is stated that "all discharges into the air and sewage are filtered and monitored." What good is correcting the terminological inaccuracies? In the end, what is the main significance for the affected region of the means by which the misfortune occurred—explosion, discharge, or exhaust?

But the colonel did not produce any further testimony, and instead of arguments he substituted the following psychological observation: "I believe that this absurd story has circulated because the majority of people are more ready to believe in fantastic things than in real and natural explanations."

I did not get the impression that the doctors with whom I had talked were so ready to believe in the fantastic—quite the opposite in fact.

On behalf of the educated minority with explanations, B. Mikhaulov, sector specialist, addresses the fantasizing majority: "In reality—and this has been established—the outbreak of anthrax illnesses among people was caused by a previous outbreak of this disease among agricultural livestock in many population centers of the southern part of Sverdlovsk Oblast. Professor I. Bezdenzhnyy and V. Nikiforov wrote an article about this which was published in 1980 in *ZHURNAL MIKROBIOLOGII, EPIDEMIOLOGII I IMMUNOBIOLOGII*...."

I looked up the article he had named, not without the shudder of a dilettante: The journal is highly technical. But the article by I. Bezdenzhnyy and V. Nikiforov—the former chief inspector of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] who came at that time from Moscow to the Sverdlovsk extraordinary event and headed the commission that was created (its medical unit)—seemed absolutely readable. Moreover, it seemed that it would be more difficult for specialists in view of the scarcity of facts.

I personally had questions for the authors, and many of them.

For instance, I read: "Sporadic illnesses of anthrax in one of the areas of Sverdlovsk preceded the outbreak of anthrax among agricultural livestock on individual farms of the adjoining regions.... At that same time isolated instances of anthrax illnesses among people were reported...."

How were they isolated? What about the (approximately) 500 hospital beds that were readied? And the (approximately) 70 people who died? Let us recall that 12 died almost simultaneously in Hospital No. 20. We will add the 42 post-mortems with the same diagnosis in Hospital No. 40—F. Abramova, a pathological anatomist who attended all these post-mortems, gave this figure. We will also add several cases which occurred at other medical institutions. And these are all isolated illnesses?

"...and there were skin and intestinal forms of the infection." Why only skin and intestinal? What about pulmonary?

I quote the article again: "That the disease is related to anthrax was confirmed by the results of laboratory tests of sick people and animals. The pathogen of anthrax was isolated from meat taken for tests from two families of patients. In both cases the meat had been purchased

from private persons. The strains of the anthrax pathogens isolated from the meat were not distinguishable from the strains isolated from the patients."

But does this prove that the events that are mentioned are part of the specific chain of terrifying events that shook the city back then? Are there really no grounds to suppose that they existed parallel with them?

I had the opportunity to travel to the cemetery, visit the houses, and resort to the archives of the registry office—and I established that the first patients died at Hospital No. 20 on 9 April. And the first articles about weakened livestock and their possible infection appeared in the local press on 13 April. Which preceded which? Does not the conclusion suggest itself that the people died first and then as a result of their deaths preventive warnings were "superimposed"?

Why? I even pose this question within the bounds of the scholarly article I quoted. Why, if it was "simply" anthrax in Sverdlovsk, did people in military uniforms play first violin in the investigation of facts? Why was the whole story of the illness eliminated along with all records and all documentation from "concerned" institutions? Why now, 11 years afterward, are officials again visiting here and there on investigations? Is any other answer possible?

I hunted down a private home in the suburb of the city where a woman who died in Hospital No. 20, one of the first, had once lived. I held in my hands her death certificate which gave "bacterial pneumonia" as the cause. Some people had come for that certificate and wished to take it away, but the family would not give it up: "It is ours. It is all that is left to us."

I visited another household whose head, a worker at a ceramic factory, had died with the same diagnosis.

...I personally have an answer for all those "whys"—I declared it openly at the very beginning. But however well-argued it seems to me, I recognized that it is only a private opinion and only a private investigation. Official conclusions are needed. Quickly.

If there was a tragedy it should be called a tragedy, and the guilty should be called guilty. And to the degree that the information presented here is grounds for a parliamentary investigation, on behalf of the editorial board the author requests that our parliament create such a commission.

Otherwise we cannot ensure that lightning will not strike from a clear sky again tomorrow.

Irkutsk Official Views Aircraft Export Problems
LD0409100390 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
0600 GMT 4 Sep 90

[Text] For exporting countries, sales of military hardware abroad have long been a kind of rating for the standard of their technology. The Irkutsk Aircraft Factory is now

ready to offer its products—military fighters and transport aircraft—for export. More details from our correspondent Vladimir Kotkin:

[Kotkin] The Su-27 fighter-interceptor, which is manufactured at this factory on the banks of the Angara, can become airborne in an instant. The machine's lofty international reputation has been confirmed at air shows in Britain, France, and Singapore. There is a willing market for the aircraft abroad, for hard currency; and the enterprise too has an interest in this, but.... Listen to a conversation I had with the general director of the Irkutsk Aircraft Association, USSR People's Deputy Gennadiy Nikolayevich Gorbunov:

[Begin recording] [Gorbunov] I believe that we need to sell this aircraft of ours, and certain steps towards this are being taken, but so far we have not sold a single one. And this is despite the fact that foreign specialists want to get hold of it. We have to move out into the international market, and the country can only gain from this. We have to be more daring in marketing the aircraft. It would cost 15 to 20 million....

[Kotkin, interrupting] Dollars?

[Gorbunov] Yes, of course dollars. This kind of money would come in very nicely for consumer goods in Irkutsk Oblast.

[Kotkin] It should be noted that the Irkutsk factory has sold some of its other aircraft models abroad but without

receiving any hard currency. Gennadiy Nikolayevich intends to stand up firmly for his collective's right to earn such hard currency.

[Gorbunov] The system needs to be changed. If we sell then we should get a percentage. We have now written to the minister, asking for a review of the system. I think the minister ought to review his position and help factories to develop interest in sales abroad.

We are now planning to begin serial production of the (?ADSI), a new aircraft for international economic purposes. This is a multi-purpose aircraft which can be used for both cargo and passenger carrying and for fire-fighting. We have been approached by Greek specialists who want to order 150 of these from us. [end recording]

Hunger Strike Staged Against Decline in Training

*LD0309180190 Kaliningrad Maritime Press Service
in Russian 1500 GMT 3 Sep 90*

[Summary] Lieutenant Colonel V.A. Rzhnevskiy, a deputy of the oblast soviet and teacher at the Kaliningrad higher military engineering college, has started a 30-day hunger strike. In a letter to KALININGRADSKAYA PRAVDA he explained that he is protesting the decline in the quality of training given to officers of the engineering troops, and the disdainful attitude of the head of the college toward everything to do with education. He wants to draw attention to these problems.

Baltic Republics**Lithuania Begins Supreme Soviet Session 4 Sep****Landsbergis Addresses Council**

LD0409152190 Vilnius Domestic Service in Lithuanian
0735 GMT 4 Sep 90

[Speech by Lithuanian Supreme Council Chairman Vytautas Landsbergis at the 4 Sep Supreme Council session in Vilnius—live]

[Excerpts] Esteemed colleagues, I do not intend to begin our session with travel impressions, or any conclusions obtained from such visits by me to Denmark and Norway. Perhaps this can be discussed separately, should you find the time and desire to do so.

I wish to discuss our current situation, in general, since we are faced not only with a period of [word indistinct] work, but also with a very crucial, perhaps the most crucial time period, our [words indistinct] our independence.

During an extraordinary session back in August, we discussed and developed two of the principal questions in our life. They remain principal, perhaps even now. They are both political. Only perhaps, the understanding of their meaning and terminology and the attention accorded them by our society and perhaps accordingly, by the republic government, may be changing. [passage omitted]

It could be stated these are some problems shared by East Europe, the Soviet Union, and the Baltic states. They are problems of those states currently experiencing the so-called post-communism stage of development. Although the Soviet Union cannot be described as such, just yet, it is perhaps headed for that stage, since it is straining to free itself from its former constraints.

By glancing around, especially toward the East, one might say the situation in Lithuania is not the worst yet, but that constitutes a small consolation to people who encounter daily difficulties and who are teased and insulted, not so much by the difficulties themselves, as by the existence of a certain population segment, or individuals, who manage to profit from our difficulties. [passage omitted]

We have no cause for much hope, that following decades of demoralization, the people might now demonstrate general understanding and refuse easy profit if such a fact is envisaged—such a fact might appear somewhat romantic. [passage omitted]

Of course, the press is still under discussion and the question is also being asked, when are negotiations to begin? Why do they not begin? Quite often, it is possible to note this somewhat strange phenomenon, as if these people who write and discuss were not informed and were not aware of the actual situation, or perhaps, were feigning ignorance of what stage of preparation this

question is occupying and why negotiations have not officially begun following the signing of the initial protocol.

If this requires explanation, the public and [passage indistinct] this is one-sided. Negotiations require two partners, who are both actually prepared and both desire negotiations and wish to begin them.

Well, we can now understand (?perfectly) that a position is of vital importance in negotiations—what the positions adopted by one partner or the other, are. Moreover, our partner's interests lie in our being the weaker party in these negotiations—either that we would lack preparation, or that we would have disagreements among us and be disunited. Thus, efforts have been exerted and continue to be exerted in that direction. However, the most important fact that I can now establish from the information currently reaching us, and finally from the fact that the USSR side has, for the past three weeks, failed to acknowledge in any fashion, the introductory preliminary protocol draft, presented by us [words indistinct] the talk concerning this document, which should initiate the negotiations. It is thus possible to arrive at one conclusion, that the Soviet Union currently does not wish for the negotiations to begin now and it is not difficult to see why they do not want this. Since a new Union agreement has already reached us, perhaps not quite in an official capacity, but it will reach us also in totally official capacity. It is a draft, first of all, in the form of an economic union agreement.

We have heard this on several occasions, in our conversations with Mikhail Gorbachev and other high officials. Negotiations for Lithuanian independence are not possible, except as a second question—a secondary question, since, on a primary importance level, some very useful ordinary agreement variants will be proposed for us. Only in the event that we were to prove very stubborn and not interested in all these benefits and riches, only then, of course, would it be possible to also discuss independence, which will prove to be very, very useless for us. We have heard this on several occasions, always as a secondary variant, a secondary concession, and now the situation is apparently directed to this end. Thus we will first of all be officially offered a new Union Economic Agreement, while a discussion of Lithuania's independence will also be accepted as a secondary variant, an alternative.

Well, one more circumstance arises, which is undoubtedly calculated by the other side, that is [word indistinct] and the government representatives, our government representatives, are constantly told that we [words indistinct] they—the Soviet Union is not providing guarantees on whether it will fulfill its contracts, as was announced during the blockade, for the benefit of foreign countries, that [word indistinct], thus, it can be expected that without some special blockade announcement, with some [words indistinct] those supplies may not be available for Lithuania. Thus, this pressure already exists, especially with respect to your desire to have certain

assurances for next year. We are told, first of all, everything needs to be explained—who you are, and this explanation is apparently considered as a deliberation and decision concerning the Union agreement.

In this situation, it is undoubtedly, very important for us to have a position, [word indistinct] a common position to include Lithuania, the public, and all government structures. [passage omitted]

I would like to talk about a task which is vital, that is to say, a common, clear, and conceptual foreign policy of our own and of problems of foreign policy, in general, that they would differ [word indistinct]. Moreover, the Soviet Union is a foreign country to us, that is close, very real, very dangerous for us and on whom much depends. It also [words indistinct] a common position and a common policy.

Well, it can be easily understood that it is in our partner's interest to utilize this new Union agreement proposal, initially to come [word indistinct] with an offering of economic relations, later, other parts, projected parts of a Union agreement, political, military and so forth, leaving to the so-called center, the departments, department industries, and also communications, railroads, border protection, foreign policy—in other words, I do not have to explain a great deal, talks about a very great republic sovereignty is, so to speak [word indistinct]. Especially, in view of the fact that one wishes to ignore Lithuania's self-determination and to offer the same thing it has now. Would it really not wish to remain in the Soviet Union any longer? [passage indistinct] But first we must set in order our state and international affairs. [passage omitted]

I can state, we must learn how to live under the existing conditions which have been foisted upon us, even though (we did not bring them about) [passage omitted]

Lithuania's international situation is improving consistently. The fact that Lithuania's determination is irreversible is totally understood. [passage omitted] [applause]

Political 'Passions' Flare

LD0409201890 Moscow Television Service in Russian
1700 GMT 4 Sep 90

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer] Today Lithuania's Supreme Soviet resumed work in Vilnius.

[Unidentified correspondent] Here at the Supreme Soviet of Lithuania after a short-lived calm political passions have again flared up. In connection with the start of the second session, the building was decked with placards and tents were set up that carried signs with slogans and appeals demanding the resignation of Lithuanian Prime Minister Kazimiera Prunskiene. In support of this some hotheads at the rally called for a hunger strike to be announced until their demands were

satisfied. The organizers of this action are the League of Lithuanian Freedom, the Union of Riflemen of Lithuania, and representatives of the Democratic Party.

In his introductory speech, Vytautas Landsbergis, chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian Republic, referred to the deteriorating economic situation in the republic as the most important problem. Unfortunately, there are forces that strive to undermine the unity of society at such a moment. He called one such action the picketing and rally at the Supreme Soviet. Then the deputies set about examining the agenda.

Black Market Expansion Noted

LD0409211290 Moscow TASS in English 2053 GMT
4 Sep 90

[By TASS correspondent Sergey Bykhun]

[Text] Vilnius September 5 TASS—President Vytautas Landsbergis of Lithuania addressed the opening session of the republican parliament on Tuesday. He noted the falloff in supplies of commodities to the population and admitted that profiteering is on the rise in the republic, prices are skyrocketing and the black market is expanding.

All this evokes displeasure of most Lithuanian citizens. "This is why," Landsbergis stressed, "this is to us a top priority issue. The government must take extraordinary, urgent measures to suppress easy ways to enrichment."

Speaking about talks with the leadership of the Soviet Union, Landsbergis accused Moscow of procrastination. "The approaching autumn and winter will be decisive on Lithuania's road towards freedom and independence," he said. "Our task remains as it was—to stand our ground."

On the opening day of the parliament's session, a protest rally was held in front of the Supreme Soviet building and tents were set up for hunger strikers. The action's organizer this time is the league of Lithuania's freedom. Participants disagree with the government policy and press the parliament to demand its resignation. The demand stems from dissatisfaction with the fact that Communists—members of the independent Lithuanian Communist Party—are in a majority in the government.

'Conditional' Sovereignty Seen

LD0509103490 Moscow World Service in Russian
0930 GMT 5 Sep 90

[Text] The second session of the Lithuanian parliament has opened in Vilnius. Speaking at it, Vytautas Landsbergis, chairman of the Lithuanian Supreme Council, stated that in his view the Soviet Union is not striving for talks with Lithuania. He noted there has still been no reply from Moscow to the draft protocol on the terms and start of talks, submitted by the Lithuanian side, an INTERFAX correspondent reports.

In Landsbergis' view, the Soviet Union, first and foremost, wants to try to involve Lithuania in a new economic treaty. If this does not satisfy Lithuania and it continues to strive for independence then, as a secondary concession, an option for Moscow may be agreement to speak about an independent Lithuania.

Landsbergis stressed that as autumn and winter approach, uncertainty is being felt in Lithuania about maintaining the supply of various goods from the Soviet Union. In this connection, he indicated that pressure is now being exerted on Lithuania. The chairman of the Lithuanian Supreme Council believes the future sovereignty of the republic, even under a new Union treaty, will be conditional. For this reason, he stated, Lithuania should follow its chosen path. In Landsbergis' words, this autumn and winter, and the ordeals of this period, could be decisive in Lithuania's path to independence. He appealed to all the republic's citizens to rally together and endure all these ordeals.

Landsbergis Rejects New Union Agreement

*LD0409215890 Vilnius International Service
in English 2130 GMT 4 Sep 90*

[Text] This evening at news conference, Vytautas Landsbergis confirmed receiving a letter from Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev several hours ago. The message speaks about the new Union agreement. We are not and will not be participants in this agreement, said Vytautas Landsbergis in his conclusion.

Landsbergis Interviewed on Lithuanian Situation

*AU0509090390 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP
in Hungarian 31 Aug 90 p 8*

[Interview with Vytautas Landsbergis, chairman of the Supreme Council of the Republic of Lithuania, by Janos Sandor Szili; place and date not given: "The Soviet Union Should Secede From Lithuania—We Have Succeeded in Strengthening Our Legal Status"]

[Text] Before his visit to Denmark and Norway, Vytautas Landsbergis granted our paper an interview. In agreement with our correspondent, reporters from the LOS ANGELES TIMES and the Moscow-based press agency INTERFAX were also present and asked questions at this interview.

[Szili] Mr. Chairman, six months have passed since the declaration of independence and a few days have passed since the end of the first session of the Sajudis-led parliament. What is your opinion about recent events?

[Landsbergis] I see them as positive. We have succeeded in strengthening our legal status in Lithuania and in the world, including in our relations with the Soviet Union.

[Szili] In your opinion, when can negotiations between Lithuania and the central Soviet Government begin, and how long could they go on for?

[Landsbergis] The first day of negotiations does not seem too close. They can only start once we have succeeded in recording our previous agreements in a common protocol. We created a joint committee for this purpose, but, so far, we have had no response from the Soviet side. If Moscow does not accept our proposals, if it has modifications or new ideas in mind, then we shall have to discuss these at the Lithuanian Supreme Council. In other words, I think it might be possible to hold "negotiations before the negotiations."

[LOS ANGELES TIMES] From a Lithuanian point of view, what is the main objective of the negotiations?

[Landsbergis] The Soviet Union should secede from Lithuania.

[Szili] If, during the course of negotiations, a situation arises whereby Lithuania is given the opportunity to become independent but Estonia and Latvia are not, what would you do? Would you leave them to their fate, or would you fight for the rights of your allies until the end?

[Landsbergis] I do not agree with your question. The opportunity was given to everybody. The only difference is: Who dares to do what, who will take on what chances, and what price would they be prepared to pay? The blockade caused us a lot of harm, but we persisted despite the difficult circumstances. Living standards slumped, but they are still above the Soviet average, even though nobody imposed a blockade against Russia.

[LOS ANGELES TIMES] Are you not afraid that, in the shadow of the Iraqi conflict, the world will turn its attention away from you, and that you will not receive enough support?

[Landsbergis] We have already been in the worst situation possible. We were already the Kuwait of the Baltic in 1940, when nobody stood up to defend us, and after 1945, the hopeless partisan warfare went on for eight years without anybody being interested, even though thousands of people were being dragged off to Siberia. By the way, it is a pity that you have no video cameras. We have just heard by telephone that Soviet tanks are on the streets of Vilnius again. However, it is in vain that they threaten, blackmail us and try to destabilize the situation, for we shall not surrender.

[Szili] Mr. Chairman, is it true that the Sajudis legislation and the government and state bureaucracy, which have remained under the influence of Communists, together form a "double power" based on an agreement similar to the one in Poland?

[Landsbergis] No, that is not true. Any open or secret agreement is out of the question. We accepted the declaration of independence together. Since then, differences of opinion have emerged, but that is natural. Nevertheless, it is true that some Communist politicians

think that they could rule the country in a better way. Furthermore, many of them feel that the time has come to regain power.

[Szili] According to not only Soviet, but also some Lithuanian sources, there are witch-hunts going on against Communists. Are these allegations true?

[Landsbergis] No, they are not true. We are tolerant. We do not think that Communists are witches.

[Szili] Would it not be preferable if Sajudis made a distinction between the Lithuanian Communist Party belonging to the CPSU platform and the independent Lithuanian Communist Party?

[Landsbergis] We do not deny that there are differences in their programs. However, in practice, that often becomes secondary. I think that some people should be making sure that the difference is visible.

[Szili] Recently, a little storm was stirred up in domestic policy because of a document signed by many Communist and Sajudis representatives which accused the Seimas of being dictatorial, called its leaders careerists, and which urged for the convocation of a new parliament to decide on the Constitution.

[Landsbergis] That is all over now. The whole affair evidently served the interests of some circles. The publishing and signing of the document was a serious political mistake, many people realized that and have since retracted.

[INTERFAX] The federated republics are proclaiming their sovereignty one after another, and many people believe that the secession of the Ukraine will deal the final blow to the old federated system. What is your opinion on that?

[Landsbergis] The Baltic Republics cannot be compared to the others. The situation is completely different. We are not fighting for independence, but for the restoration of independence. In our links with the Soviet Union, we wish to reestablish normal legal relations, appropriate for two equal states, rather than the links that were forced upon us. As far as the Ukraine is concerned, the situation has changed entirely in the wake of Russia's totally unexpected and surprising revival. At the moment, it is Yeltsin and his colleagues who have the greatest possibility to make substantial and positive changes, and it seems that they are seriously trying to change the situation.

[Szili] Mr. Chairman, allow me to ask you a personal question to end this interview: Your father was a renowned builder, and he was one of the ministers under the short-lived temporary government of 1941. Did this political inheritance affect you in your decision to give up your own academic work for politics?

[Landsbergis] My father was no politician. As a young artillery officer he fought for the independence of Lithuania, but later on he only lived for his profession.

When the Red Army withdrew in 1941, he was asked to fill a merely administrative post and he became minister for communal development. I had no political ambitions, either, and if the situation arises, I shall gladly go back to my profession, as a musicologist.

Lithuania Said To Have 'Dragged Its Feet'

PM0409135990 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA
in Russian 4 Sep 90 Second Edition p 2

[TASS correspondent K. Ustila report: "Talks Could Have Begun Earlier"]

[Text] "It seems to me that we have already missed the most propitious moment for the start of talks with the Soviet Union," K. Prunskiene, prime minister of the Lithuanian Republic, believes.

On returning from West Berlin, where she met with representatives of Germany's leadership and with politicians of other countries, the Lithuanian head of government appeared on republic television. She said that "the resolution of Lithuania's problems depends not only on our intentions and internal actions but also on the situation in the world, particularly in Europe." And, in her opinion, the situation is such that the new events in the world and the Soviet Union have pushed Lithuania's problems "into the background." The prime minister confirmed once again her opinion that "the end of July could have seen if not the culmination at least the serious commencement of talks." She voiced regret that the government did not discuss sufficiently persistently with the parliament the possibility of starting talks considerably earlier.

After the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet adopted the decision at the beginning of the summer to announce a moratorium on the act "On the Restoration of the Lithuanian State's Independence" for the duration of the talks with the Soviet Union, a real opportunity to begin talks emerged, thereby initiating the resolution of the problems which are accumulating and which are exacerbating both the political and the economic situation in the republic. All the more so as, soon after the adoption of the moratorium, a decree of the USSR president formed the state delegation headed by N. Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, to conduct talks with Lithuania.

However, the Lithuanian side dragged its feet. The nucleus of the state commission empowered with conducting talks was approved only at the second sitting of the extraordinary Lithuanian Supreme Soviet session, i.e. 21 August. But even today a strong influence is still exerted in parliament by forces which are inclined to ignore the Soviet Union's leadership and to resolve their problems by concluding corresponding treaties with the Russian Federation and other Union republics.

Speaking of such sentiments, the Lithuanian head of government declared: "The opinion that we can wait for a propitious situation, without conducting talks with the

Soviet Union, has not been vindicated." She voiced confidence that many problems—above all, political problems and the consolidation of Lithuania's statehood—can be resolved "only in talks with the Soviet Union's organs of power."

Lithuania Seeks Participation in CSCE Talks

*LD0409164390 Vilnius International Service in English
2130 GMT 3 Sep 90*

[Text] (?Victims) of aggression, occupation, and annexation, Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia are not admitted to participate in the European Security and Cooperation [word indistinct], which fact really contradicts the principles of the conclusive acts of the Helsinki treaty, says the memorandum of the Foreign Ministry of Lithuania today regarding the need for Lithuania's participation at the Conference on International Security and Cooperation in Europe.

The memorandum has been circulated along diplomatic channels to the governments of states which are due to take part in the forthcoming Helsinki conference.

The document points out that the act of the restoration of the sovereignty of the Republic of Lithuania, adopted by its Supreme Council on 11 March this year in full accord with the will of the Lithuanian people, has created conditions for Lithuania's return to the community of European states from which it was illegally [word indistinct] during the Second World War.

The memorandum makes (?it a) point that the states directly responsible for the aggression against the Republic of Lithuania ought to do their best to restore the legal rights of Lithuania as a sovereign European state. (?As subjects) of international law, the Baltic states demand the observer status at the proceedings of the preparatory committee and the summit conference itself which is due to take place in Paris.

The memorandum of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Lithuania notes that granting such status cannot infringe on the legal interests and rights of other European states and nations.

Estonia Criticizes Katseliit Border Incident

*LD0409100690 Tallinn Domestic Service in Estonian
1700 GMT 3 Sep*

[Text] We will continue with information which has arrived at the editorial board from Toompea, from the republican government.

The Republic of Estonia government today discussed the Sunday Kaitseliit [Defense League] action on the territory of Leningrad Oblast. The stance of the government is reflected in the statement which says, among other things:

The action described produced an understandably anxious reaction in the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist

Republic [RSFSR], including among its leadership. In the course of consultations between the leaders of the Republic of Estonia and Leningrad Oblast, it was swiftly clarified that it was not the case of an official Republic of Estonia undertaking. An agreement was reached to avoid resorting to force in order to prevent unsanctioned events.

And another thing: One has to note the precise timing of the action with the talks taking place with the USSR, the RSFSR, and both Leningrad City and Oblast. Particularly one should notice the connection between deciding on the border on their own initiative and the talks being held with Leningrad, where in the near future one can expect success, and that is also with regard to a customs border.

The Republic of Estonia government notes that according to the generally recognized principles of diplomatic practice, unilateral actions are to be avoided during talks, because any kind of outbursts may complicate the normal progress of the talks. If they are repeated, any actions will be blocked. In the case of the described incident, however, the traditional rules of respecting one's neighbors were ignored.

It is equally understood that border issues can only be permanently resolved not by the use of force but by talks. The government views the Kaitseliit action as an attempt to exert pressure on both the republican Supreme Soviet and the government, keeping in mind first and foremost domestic political goals. What has happened also reinforces the government's stance on the need to establish controls over the border.

The full text of the government's statement will be published in the press.

Estonian Food Price Hike Proposals Reported

*LD0209120190 Moscow World Service in Russian
0400 GMT 2 Sep 90*

[Text] The government of the Estonian Republic has tabled a proposal with the Supreme Soviet that the state subsidies on meat, dairy, and fish products be abolished and that measures be elaborated for compensating the population for the losses which the inevitable rise of prices on these products will cause, the INTERFAX Agency reports. It is proposed that from 1 October the price for beef and lamb will rise to 9 rubles [R] a kilogram in Estonia, for pork to R5.30, and for broiler meat to R5.80. The prices of prepared goods will rise substantially. The price for dairy products will also be higher: 200 grams of butter will cost R1.94, a kilogram of cheese R5.70, and one-half litre bottle of milk, 50 kopecks.

RSFSR

Republic Supreme Soviet Session Gets Under Way

Presidium Examines Agenda

PM0409114090 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
1 Sep 90 Second Edition p 3

[TASS report under the rubric "Yesterday, Today, Tomorrow": "RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Session"]

[Text] A session of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet Presidium was held 31 August. It examined the agenda for the second session of the republic Supreme Soviet.

B.N. Yeltsin, chairman of the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet, led the session.

Second Session Resumes 4 Sep

LD0409194790 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
1800 GMT 4 Sep 90

[Text] The session of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet resumed today. Owing to shortage of time, the candidacies for posts in Russia's new government were not discussed here. The deputies accepted the proposal put forward by Silayev, chairman of the republic's Council of Ministers, and concentrated all attention on the main thing—the concept of economic reform.

Committee Work To Continue

LD0409223590 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
2130 GMT 4 Sep 90

[Text] The Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation will continue its work in committees and commissions on 5 September.

Candidacies for vacant posts in the Russian Federation's government will be considered. Discussions of the concept of the transition to a market economy, as proposed in the report presented at the plenary sitting by Silayev, chairman of Russia's Council of Ministers, will also continue.

RSFSR Party Congress Second Session Previewed

Polozkov Outlines Goals

PM0409100590 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA
in Russian 4 Sep 90 First Edition p 1

[Interview with I.K. Polozkov, member of the Politburo and first secretary of the Russian Communist Party Central Committee, by Colonel O. Nikonov on the eve of the second stage of RSFSR Communist Party founding congress; place not given: "In the Name of Russia's Rebirth"—first paragraph is an editorial introduction]

[Text] The second stage of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Communist Party founding congress begins in Moscow today. On the eve of it our correspondent Colonel O. Nikonov asked I.K. Polozkov, member of the Politburo and first secretary of the Russian Communist Party Central Committee, to answer a number of questions.

[Nikonov] Ivan Kuzmich, lately you often hear it said that the CPSU has run up against contradictions and difficulties. What kind of "contradictions" and "difficulties," in your view, and how do you see ways of overcoming them?

[Polozkov] The main difficulty, in my view, is that the start of perestroika was unjustifiably delayed. In the economy the quest for paths of renewal that will ensure its upsurge has been under way for five years now, but even today we still do not know what program to settle on. The old model and the links organized over the years, not very effective though they were, have now been destroyed, but new ones do not yet exist. The situation is similar in all other spheres of social life.

Renewal in party organizations is also going slowly, and they often cannot keep up with the changes taking place in the country. This has led to certain complications within the party itself and has disoriented some people. An exodus from its ranks has begun. The ways of overcoming these difficulties lie in the further renewal of the party on the basis of the 28th congress' decisions. It is important to more rapidly find our feet in the context of the new situation—the situation of an emerging multiparty system—and to adjust our forms and methods of work to it. We must learn to live and act in conditions of political struggle and political competition. The mood in most party organizations is good and militant, and I am sure that the party will successfully get through the difficult period.

[Nikonov] The draft RSFSR Communist Party action program, which presents fragments of alternative opinions and positions, has been published. These alternatives often "do not add up," so to speak. Nevertheless, they were included. What aim was pursued here?

[Polozkov] The initial idea guiding the creators of the draft action program was to elaborate a document translating the ideas of the 28th CPSU Congress program statement into the language of specific policy in our republic and making it possible to pool the efforts of all Russia's Communists in the name of its economic, state, and spiritual rebirth.

We want the party to have a program clearly defining the content of Communists' activity at the present crucial stage of social development. It must include a list of major political measures helping to resolve urgent problems and to extricate the republic from the crisis. These must be key guidelines around which political and ideological work can be developed but which do not fetter the actions of individual party organizations.

I particularly want to stress that the draft action program is not my invention, as certain mass media attempt to make out, but the fruit of great collective labor. It was drawn up by a preparatory committee in which members of the CPSU and RSFSR Communist Party Central Committees, congress delegates, representatives of the "Russia's Communists" group of deputies from the Congress of RSFSR People's Deputies, various social organizations, and scientists took part.

At the very start of work on the draft, the preparatory committee advocated that representatives of the three trends that had emerged in party organizations—the Section of Reformist Communists of the Democratic Platform Within the CPSU, the Marxist Platform, and the Organizational Bureau of the Russian Communists' Initiative Congress—be invited to take part in it. In fact the published draft action program was prepared with their active participation. It is pleasing that the joint work proceeded in a spirit of comradely cooperation, free exchange of opinions, and mutual interest. Wherever it was not possible to reach consensus, alternative positions were set out.

[Nikonov] There is now a lot of talk about Russia's rebirth. What is your interpretation of this?

[Polozkov] Above all, the rallying of Russians and the improvement of their material and spiritual lives. Those are seemingly simple, familiar words. Also, they were spoken before, but by no means was everything done or done correctly. Masses of unsolved problems have accumulated in our rich Russia. Not because Russians cannot or will not work, but because the methods of the administrative-edict system are ineffective today. For new methods, it is necessary to clear many obstacles from the road—in the economy, in politics, and in the cultural sphere. One of the fundamental tasks here is the transition to the market. However, it transpires that this is an exceptionally complex process affecting the entire life of society. And one of the party's aims is to ease this transition, keeping in mind that at the 28th congress our party firmly defined its choice—the socialist path of development and the communist prospect.

[Nikonov] The theme of defending Lenin and the historic traditions of the revolution has been strongly voiced at the founding congress. Do you have any strong arguments against those who reject Leninism and the socialist choice? Did your trip to the city of three revolutions [Leningrad] not disappoint you?

[Polozkov] Defending Lenin and Leninism from distortions, as well as the creative development of our teachings, comprise one of the party's main tasks. We are loyal to Lenin, but we are also loyal to the creative principle in Leninism, and we clearly realize that it must be constantly enriched. This is the main argument in a dispute in which life will have the last word. We must make a profound study of the processes taking place in society and take into account new experience—both in our country and abroad. We must in many respects take a

fresh look at our ideas of socialism and its values. But this is not an abstract look from behind a desk, it is a look from the standpoint of the working class and the working people who constitute the party's main support.

The meetings in Leningrad confirmed that the broad party masses are seriously worried by the ceaseless attacks on socialism and the Soviet people's revolutionary gains and traditions. Leningraders' mood is militant; they are prepared to resolutely oppose those who seek to undermine the foundations of our way of life. In this sense my visit to Leningrad was a good fillip to encourage further work.

[Nikonov] In theory and practice, will the RSFSR Communist Party march with and alongside the CPSU or will it "try to march ahead," as some people assert, as a party that sets the tone?

[Polozkov] We will try to act vigorously, to set the tone, if you like. I think that the other republic party organizations also want this. But since we are part of the CPSU, this means that we will always march with it and alongside it.

[Nikonov] In my view, the action program is far tougher than the 28th congress program statement; it even strikes notes of alarm, and it is also quarrelsome. What is this? Awareness of the increasingly complex situation, or a warning to opponents?

[Polozkov] I would not say that the draft action program is in any way fundamentally different from the program statement. We fully accept the 28th congress' documents. If you have sensed a different tone in the draft, this is clearly the result of the fact that the tone of all social and political life in the country is changing and becoming tougher and social tension is mounting more and more.

[Nikonov] How are your relations with the RSFSR state leadership? The press did not report that B.N. Yeltsin's group on his tour of RSFSR regions included representatives from the Russian Communist Party leadership....

[Polozkov] We have normal relations with the RSFSR leadership. Each does his job with his characteristic means and methods. After all, we have the same aim—Russia's rebirth and the improvement of the people's well-being. Representatives of our party did not accompany B.N. Yeltsin on his trip, this question did not even arise, as this was an ordinary business trip such as the Supreme Soviet chairman takes occasionally. But the leaders of local party organizations took part in meetings and conversations with him.

[Nikonov] The action program expresses an attitude toward the Army. It is less detailed than the 28th CPSU Congress resolution, although the main contingent of the Armed Forces and therefore a large proportion of the Army's Communists are on RSFSR territory. I would

like to know how you specifically perceive the implementation of this part of the future Russian Communist Party action program?

[Polozkov] The 28th congress' documents provide a good basis for our work in the Army. We have no need to enshrine our own positions in such detail. The main contingent of the Armed Forces is on Russia's territory, but the bulk of CPSU members are also on that territory. The party is interested in ensuring that the Army is strong, combat-capable, and spiritually and morally sound, and that it shares the life of society as a whole. We will use forms of party work to make it possible to improve servicemen's ideological and political level and to narrow the gap between party committees and the mass of officers and soldiers. Also, in the broad sense of the word, we will use party work to enhance the prestige of Army service as a great honor and as a duty to the motherland.

[Nikonov] Ivan Kuzmich, you have done active military service. What was your personal perception of this complex life?

[Polozkov] I served in the Red Banner Baltic Fleet. These were years that enabled me to clearly realize the difficult lot of both those who have devoted themselves to the Army and those who are drafted for compulsory service. "Military duty"—these are familiar words to us, but I realized that they represent very hard work—work that fosters will and character and introduces people to high ideals of patriotism. I saw the Army as a big family. Even today, when I meet with servicemen, I experience a special feeling toward them as former colleagues and friends. Everyone who has been through the Army is rightly regarded as experiencing a kinship as a result.

I will take advantage of this opportunity to convey greetings and best wishes via KRASNAYA ZVEZDA to those with whom Army service once brought me into contact.

Report on Agenda Item Clarified

PM3108135190 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
31 Aug 90 Morning Edition p 2

["Additional Information"]

[Text] The Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] Communist Party Central Committee has asked the IZVESTIYA editorial office to clarify information that was given to journalists at I.K. Polozkov's 20 August press conference at the CPSU Central Committee Press Center (see IZVESTIYA No. 242). The agenda for the second stage of the RSFSR Communist Party Congress contains questions concerning the ratification of the statute on the Control Commission and, accordingly, on the election of the Control Commission and its chairman.

Panels Revise 'Action Program'

PM0409142790 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA
in Russian 1 Sep 90 Second Edition p 2

[Article by A. Gamov: "Discussions About an Urgent Matter"]

[Excerpt] Meetings are continuing between members of the preparatory committee for the second phase of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Communist Party constituent congress in the republic's party organizations. Over the past two weeks meetings have been held in Gorkiy, Vladimir, Kirov, Irkutsk, and other oblasts. Meetings in the capital have been held at the USSR Ministry of the Petroleum Refining and Petrochemical Industry, the USSR Gosplan [State Planning Committee], the RSFSR Prosecutor's Office, and other organizations. The participants in the elaboration of a draft action program for the RSFSR Communist Party have mentioned at these meetings the way in which, during the further honing of the provisions of the program document, the proposals and criticisms of Communists and nonparty people have been taken into account, and numerous—sometimes blunt and uncompromising—questions answered. As a rule, such discussions have a specific, businesslike, and constructive basis.

This can be judged merely from the nature of the discussion held at the RSFSR Prosecutor's Office. Naturally, it covered the depoliticization and removal of party influence from Ministry of Internal Affairs organs, the Army, the Prosecutor's Office, and the courts. There have been many different opinions on and false interpretations of this issue, and they were in evidence this time too. Yet the majority of those present agreed that in our time of perestroika we should not go to extremes. Of course, the party should not be a substitute for state organs, including law-enforcement organs. This, incidentally, is a slogan which the party itself put forward. But in this event, is it entitled to leave the arena altogether? [passage omitted]

Yakovlev Wants 'New' Congress

LD0209064590 Moscow Television Service in Russian
1900 GMT 1 Sep 90

[From the "Television News Service" program]

[Text] Debates about the congress of the Communist Party of Russia that opens next week are becoming more and more heated. Here are the words of one of the not entirely untypical deputies who have declined to take part in the congress. [video shows Yegor Yakovlev, editor-in-chief of MOSCOW NEWS, being interviewed]

[Yakovlev, in progress] ...to take part in the second part of the congress, when I attended the first part and realized that, given the selection of people there, they cannot fail to support Polozkov's position and the program position. Being a mere extra at the congress to make up a quorum and only have the opportunity to vote

for or against does not appeal to me. With the composition of delegates who are gathering for the second stage of the congress, it will adopt decisions of the same ilk as the decision which got Comrade Polozkov elected first secretary.

I consider my decision to decline from participating in the second stage of the Russian congress, which it is clear in advance is conservative, as a form of action. I have no wish to take part.

It would be correct today to think about a new Russian congress, an alternative congress, because the elections to this congress have in themselves naturally aroused great doubts, since they were electing people with the 28th [CPSU] Congress in mind. In other words, they were looking toward the all-Union gathering, and yet those people automatically became delegates to the Russian congress.

[Announcer] That was the opinion of Yegor Yakovlev, editor in chief of MOSCOW NEWS. Incidentally, it has been announced that subscription to MOSCOW NEWS is to be made open.

Second Stage of Party Congress Opens 4 Sep

Gorbachev, Ryzhkov Attend

LD0409101890 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
0800 GMT 4 Sep 90

[Text] The second stage of the constituent congress of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] Communist Party started in the Kremlin Palace of Congresses today. We are switching in the correspondent's post in the Kremlin; Yuriy Korotkov is at the microphone:

[Korotkov] The session of the Congress opened two hours ago, with Comrades Gorbachev, Lukyanov, and Ryzhkov present. Workers, peasants, and representatives of various platforms within the CPSU and emissaries from all the Communist Parties of the Union republics have been invited to the congress.

Gennadiy Maksimovich Khodyrev, chairman of the Mandate Commission, reported that previously, at the first stage of the congress, 2,768 delegates had been elected. Since then, four delegates had resigned from the CPSU, three had turned down their mandates, one died, 183 delegates were absent today for various reasons, and therefore there were 2,584 delegates taking part in the second stage of the constituent Congress.

The agenda was then debated for more than one hour.

There were six items on the agenda: The action program of the RSFSR Communist Party, elections to the Communist Party Central Committee, endorsement of the

provisions for the Communist Party Control Commission, election of the chairman of the Control Commission, election of the Control Commission and endorsement of the provisions for a referendum in the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic Communist Party.

It has to be said that fierce disputes flared up immediately on the first item on the agenda, the Communist Party's program of action. As you know, the draft of this was published on 21 August so that everyone could familiarize themselves with it, but many delegates, mainly from the Moscow party organization, as well as from Karelia, Komi, Sverdlovsk, Nizhnyy Novogord, Chita, and Ulyanovsk, insisted that the issue of the program of action be excluded from the Congress agenda, since, as some said, it was destructive, was not in tune with the spirit of the times, contradicted the decisions of the 28th CPSU Congress, and would lead to a split and confrontation with local soviets. It was also said that this program needed first of all to be discussed widely and comprehensively in the primary party organizations, and then submitted to the Congress or to a Central Committee plenum.

However, there were also speeches of a different kind. For example, Samorekov, a worker at the Leningrad Bolshevik factory, said that the Moscow delegates were taking a strike-breakers' position and that they were demagogues, branding them corrupt Moscow intelligentsia. I have retained the delegate's wording so you might understand what forces and what positions are being represented at this Congress.

In addition, many delegates insisted that the matter of political confidence in the first secretary of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic Communist Party, Polozkov, be included on the agenda, and these delegates called for him to be reelected. Ivan Kuzmich, however, asked that this matter should not now be included in the agenda because he had something to say on the matter and would say it later.

In short, the agenda was approved by a majority of votes, and the proposal on the first point did not even go to the vote, despite delegates pressing hard to try and change it.

A report on the draft program of action of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic Communist Party has just been delivered by Ivan Kuzmich Polozkov. A short break has now been announced at the Congress, and I am closing my report on the opening of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic Communist Party.

Prokofyev Fears Power Vacuum

LD0409125490 Moscow TASS in English 1238 GMT
4 Sep 90

[By TASS correspondents Lev Aksenov, Boris Zverev, and Andrey Orlov]

[Text] Moscow September 4 TASS—Moscow Communist Party chief Yuriy Prokofyev said today that to rectify the current situation in the country, "one needs

not so much time as a real possibility of controlling processes, which no one at any level has."

Addressing the second stage of the founding congress of the Russian Federation Communist Party today, he said "there was a vacuum of power" in society. On the future of the republican Communist Party, Prokofyev said one should be oriented to an analysis of the situation in the country, which might "spell out a political catastrophe." The current processes in the USSR could cause society to lose them minimum of stability, he said, labelling a dangerous the grave economic situation, shortages of many goods and inter-ethnic clashes.

"There is a palpable danger that democratisation will be just another episode in the country's history on the way from the command-administrative system, through chaos and disorder, to a dictatorship," Prokofyev stressed.

He set out the position of those in the Moscow delegation who wanted the congress to hold its second stage at a later date. He noted that this position was based on a desire to prevent "discrediting the activity of the Russian Communist Party by engaging in perestroika-style phrase-mongering."

Moscow delegates called for elaborating a genuine programme of action for the Communist Party. He dismissed the proposed draft as "contradictory and eclectic."

"We cannot approve a document that lacks substantive action and specific realistic obligations of the party before society," Prokofyev stressed.

He proposed passing the action programme at the next congress and in the meantime taking stock of the opinion of all party organizations in Russia.

Polozkov on 'Principal Goal'

LD0409112490 Moscow TASS in English 1108 GMT
4 Sep 90

[By TASS correspondents Lev Aksenov, Boris Zverev, and Andrey Orlov]

[Text] Moscow September 4—"The priority task facing the Russian Communists is to work for civil accord in the republic and to uphold the political, economic, and social interests of the working people," Russian Communist Party leader Ivan Polozkov said today.

He formulated the party's principal goal in a 60-minute report to the delegates of the party founding congress, the second stage of which opened here today.

Polozkov said that Russian Communists shared the assessments of the 28th CPSU Congress.

Polozkov sees the reasons behind the economic crisis in the country, which "ultimately, puts perestroika on the brink of collapse," both in the complexities of the

transition period and in people's psychological ill-preparedness for the country's transition to a market. He also blamed a surfeit of talk and lack of action among the causes of the country's sluggish economic performance.

Polozkov favoured "man's economic emancipation, the working collectives' economic freedom, the diversity of forms of ownership within the framework of the socialist choice" while recognizing that "there is no alternative to the market." He called for determining "the social price which people will pay for this transition."

Polozkov described the simplified formula "either socialism or market" as a "serious delusion."

Polozkov emphasised that the Russian Communist Party supported the declaration on the sovereignty of the Russian Federation.

Polozkov criticised political forces that "behind general terms about the support of perestroika," are demonstrating "the aggressive tendency towards negating the socialist idea" and calling for "the restoration of the capitalist system" in the USSR.

In this regard, he urged the Russian Communist Party "decisively to shed ideological and organisational erosion, lack of confidence and inaction, to overcome over-emphasis on inner-party problems faster and concentrate efforts on specific actions in the interests of the working peoples and the rebirth of Russia."

Speaking about the need to give a modern state and legal form to relations among the peoples living in Russia, Polozkov favoured concluding a treaty within the framework of the Russian Federation that would be analogous to a Union treaty.

He called for work to counter the "deliberate discreditation of the Communist Party and the socialist choice as a whole" and advocated creating as soon as possible Russia's own news organisations.

Polozkov emphasised that the establishment of the Russian Communist Party was the "natural result of current sweeping changes in the minds of the party rank-and-file rather than the result of instructions from above or 'apparatus combinations.'"

However, dwelling on the situation in the party ranks "in conditions of the sharpened political struggle," he said that 90,000 workers had quit the Soviet Communist Party (the Russian party organisation unites about 60 per cent of all Soviet party members).

Polozkov does not want to develop the party's own programme and rules now, explaining it, in part, by "the particular dynamism of the social processes during the transition period."

He proposed to be guided by the programme statement of the 28th Soviet Communist Party Congress and the new Soviet party rules. Meanwhile, Polozkov emphasised the new party's desire to solve independently

political, organisational, personnel, publishing, financial, economic and other issues.

Polozkov called for giving various ideological platforms in the party opportunities to explain their positions, including in the party mass media.

'Calm' Debates Encouraged

*LD0409212990 Moscow Television in Russian
1700 GMT 4 Sep 90*

[From the "Vremya" newcast]

[Excerpt] After a 70-day break, the constituent congress of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Communist Party resumed work today in the Kremlin Palace of Congresses in Moscow. It is set to discuss an action program for Russia's Communists—a most important document—and to complete elections to the RSFSR Communist Party Central Committee.

[Correspondent V. Stepanyuk] Comrades Gorbachev, Lukyanov, Ryzhkov, and other leaders of the party and the country, representatives of various platforms within the CPSU and Russia's public organizations and also guests from the communist parties of all the Union republics are taking part in the congress' work. [video shows Gorbachev, Lukyanov, Polozkov, Ryzhkov, Kugultinov, and others mounting the podium]

Literally, from the first moments when procedural matters were examined, a number of delegates suggested to refrain from an action program of the RSFSR Communist Party and to be guided by the program document of the 28th party congress instead. The issue of political confidence in the leader of the Russian Communist Party was raised, too. Ivan Kuzmich Polozkov himself proposed not to include the issue of candidacy of the first secretary of the Central Committee on the agenda so as not to distract the participants' attention from the main problems. He promised to return to the issue later. As a result, the agenda submitted by the preparatory committee was approved by a majority vote.

Describing the action program of the Russian Communists in his speech, Comrade Polozkov noted:

[Begin Polozkov recording] There was intense work; it proceeded in an atmosphere of sharp but constructive discussions. Agreement was attained because the interests of the cause, not group or personal ambitions, were considered paramount. The doors of the preparatory committee were open to everyone. Those who really wanted to have their proposals included in the draft action program could do so. After the draft was published about 30,000 proposals and amendments arrived and they were examined.

Let me, dear comrades, express the confidence that the concluding stage of our congress will pass in a business-like, creative, and constructive manner and will bring us forward toward understanding the tasks of, and prospects for, developing the party of Russian Communists.

I am calling on the delegates to hold calm and creative debates. Thanks you for your attention. [end recording] [passage omitted]

Opening Day Called 'Fruitful'

*LD0409200890 Moscow TASS in English 2001 GMT
4 Sep 90*

[By TASS correspondents Yuriy Kozmin and Pavel Ostrov]

[Text] Moscow September 4 TASS—Russian Communist Party leader Ivan Polozkov described the first day of the second stage of the party's constituent congress, which opened in Moscow on Tuesday, as "productive and fruitful."

Polozkov told reporters today that all those who took the floor at the congress "expressed pain and concern about the situation in the country."

He explained difficulties of the transition period by the fact that "the old links of the administrative-command system have been destroyed, and new economic structures are not yet working."

He blamed this on local councils, which have assumed all power. "It is time to answer for one's actions or inertia," he said.

Polozkov said there can be "no return to the situation before 1985."

He told reporters that "we have no right to begin our work only using parliamentary methods and forms. The party should participate in the country's life, above all because it is responsible for the situation in society, and the party is not going to evade this responsibility."

Asked about the role of the Russian Communist Party in the life of the Russian Federation, Polozkov said that his party "remains a party of the vanguard type. Life just will not let us renounce our vanguard role."

He expressed confidence that the party "has all ground to play such a role in society."

Ligachev Supports Program

*LD0409120890 Moscow TASS in English 1153 GMT
4 Sep 90*

[By TASS correspondents Lev Aksenov, Boris Zverev, and Andrey Orlov]

[Text] Moscow September 4 TASS—Delegate to the founding congress of the Russian Communist Party Yegor Ligachev said today that he was favourably impressed by the first meeting of the present congress and by the report by the Russian Communist Party chief Ivan Polozkov.

Ligachev was a Politburo member and secretary of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee until the 28th Communist Party Congress held last July.

Ligachev told TASS that he is on the whole satisfied with the programme submitted to the congress. "To say that the document runs counter to statements in the Soviet Communist Party programme is wrong," Ligachev said. "This is an attempt at intimidation, although I don't know anyone here who is easily scared. All the delegates are strong-willed and firm," he said.

Regarding his attitude to the national economy's transition to a market, Ligachev said that market relations are already functioning.

"They started to function long ago as commodity-money relations combined with planning. I refer to cooperation," Ligachev said. He believes that the crux of the matter is how new forms of property will be developed and how privatisation is to be achieved.

"Other matters are also important, but the question of state property is essential in politics. Policy and parliamentary composition will depend on the form of property, the form of economic management."

Ligachev specifically emphasised that he is not against privatisation. He said the way it is implemented is essential.

"If the emphasis is on private property, then my stand is well known," Ligachev said.

"I am against this. I believe it is absurd after 70 years to return to what disunited people. Socialism has not yet been exhausted. It can combine planning with commodity-money relations with a market. I am deeply convinced of this and I write about this in my book," Ligachev said.

Asked about how he occupies his time, Ligachev answered: "I am busy writing a book." He said he has no intention to run for steering bodies of the Russian Communist Party.

Delegates Respond to Program

LD0409124790 Moscow TASS in English 1232 GMT
4 Sep 90

[By TASS correspondents Lev Aksenov, Boris Zverev, and Andrey Orlov]

[Text] Moscow September 4 TASS—The Russian Communist Party opened the second stage of its founding congress here today to discuss and adopt a party action programme. The more than 2,500 delegates, representing Communists in the largest Soviet republic, are also to complete the election of the party's steering bodies.

The first stage of the congress took place in Moscow last June. It then elected only part of the Central Committee as well as party leader Ivan Polozkov, 55.

As compared with the first stage, the number of delegates has decreased: one died, several quit the Soviet Communist Party and three others gave up their credentials.

The debate on the agenda was stormy from the outset, as opposing opinions clashed on the conference floor. Several delegates suggested a vote of no-confidence in Polozkov.

Many were also dissatisfied with the draft party action programme and suggested thoroughly amending it.

But most agreed on the agenda proposed before, with Polozkov having persuaded them to put off the no-confidence motion as he had "something to say on this issue" later.

He then delivered a report on the draft action programme, and a debate ensued.

Comments on the report and the draft ranged all the way from almost unqualified backing to sharp criticism.

Author Tamara Zaplavnaya from Tomsk, Siberia, praised the document as showing "a desire to protect the working people" but also criticised it for being too declarative and schematic.

Novgorod party chief Ivan Nikulin lashed out at the press, including the party press, for "itching to criticise" all and sundry, while failing to publicise the positive experience of party work. He acknowledged that there was no alternative to a market economy but warned that "responsibility for the latest experiment will again lie with the Communists."

Moscow party chief Yuriy Prokofyev also made an emotional statement.

Tyumen worker Ivan Vtorushin from western Siberia blasted the national leadership's policies. To applause from the audience, he called for "returning the nation to 1985." He said that "no matter what slogans are used, a policy resulting in falling living standards and bloodshed is against popular interests."

Mikhail Gorbachev and other Soviet Communist Party leaders are attending the congress.

Opposing Views Evident

LD0409175290 Moscow TASS in English 1736 GMT
4 Sep 90

[By TASS correspondents Lev Aksemov and Boris Zverev]

[Text] Moscow September 4 TASS—The afternoon session of the second stage of the Russian Communist Party's founding congress, which opened here today, illustrated that delegates have diametrically opposed views on many essential issues; criticism prevailed today.

Moscow worker Ivan Boltovskiy blasted plans for economic reform, sparing no sharp words in his assault against the Shatalin group, which has drafted a 500-day programme to pull the country's economy out of crisis.

Boltovskiy concluded his speech by assuring Russian Communist Party leader Ivan Polozkov that the latter had won the people's confidence.

Having admitted that the Soviet Communist Party has lost the ability to express the vital interests of the working class and peasantry, party worker Nikolay Shmytko, from the Kaluga region of central Russia, then attacked the role played by mass information organisations in the development of the situation in the country. The speaker was particularly angered by what he described as "the concerted persecution of Ivan Polozkov."

Both speeches were often punctuated by applause. The audience had a different reaction to the speech by Soviet Communist Party Central Committee member, economist Otto Lacis. Delegates were irritated by the speaker's viewpoint, which coincided with that of a majority of the Moscow delegation to the congress, and his criticism of the Russian Communist Party's draft programme for action, [words indistinct]. He pointed to striking discrepancies between the draft and the documents approved by the 28th Soviet Communist Party Congress.

Military Academy senior lecturer Nikolay Stolyarov said that once we decided to switch over to a market economy, a moderate authoritarian region was needed for the duration of the "transition." He said the authority of the centre has been obviously weakened recently.

Moscow and Moscow region KGB chief Vitaliy Prilukov focused on the "atrophy of power." He said that the party had permitted antisocialist structures to take over the initiative and resolutely opposed the idea of depoliticising law enforcement agencies.

Aleksandr Loshkarev, a party worker from the autonomous republic of Mordovia, criticised everyone. According to him, the top leadership of the Union and the Russian Federation was pro-Western in its orientation, as "can clearly be seen in the activity of the Presidential Council and the president himself," he insisted.

Novosibirsk party worker Vladimir Shumilov said the Soviet Communist Party Politburo remained passive before the choice between the two distinct roads of development—towards socialism and towards capitalism.

Aleksandr Seleznev presented a report from the editing commission on the draft regulations for the Russian Communist Party's Control Commission. The document was approved by the congress after a brief debate.

The congress will continue tomorrow.

Party Congress Session Moves Into Second Day

Control Commission Vote Stated

LD0509065490 Moscow TASS in English 0647 GMT
5 Sep 90

[By TASS correspondents Lev Aksenov, Boris Zverev, and Andrey Orlov]

[Text] Moscow September 5 TASS—The constituent congress of the Russian Communist Party went into its second day today, having already accumulated a backlog of work. The election of the chairman of the party Control Committee was to have taken place on Tuesday, instead it will be conducted today.

The delegates will also continue to discuss party leader Ivan Polozkov's report to the congress and the draft party action programme.

Commission Candidates Named

LD0509104590 Moscow Television Service in Russian
0830 GMT 5 Sep 90

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Sittings of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] Communist Party's constituent congress are under way in the Kremlin Palace of Congresses. Comrade Polozkov chaired this morning's session. As is known, the delegates should complete the organizational work to set up the Russian Communist Party during the current, second stage.

During the morning session the congress began elections of the RSFSR Communist Party Control Commission chairman. Two candidates were proposed for this post: Nikolay Ivanovich Malkov, first secretary of Chita Oblast CPSU Committee and chairman of the Oblast Executive Committee, and Vitaliy Prokopich Bayduzh, a Novosibirsk worker.

Once the candidates had spoken, a heated debate began. Various views were expressed during the debate. Three more candidates were proposed: Comrade Odintsov from Moscow Oblast, Korablev from Leningrad, and Colonel Stolarov. After the first two candidates were removed from discussion, the surnames of Comrades Malkov, Bayduzh, and Stolarov were placed on the secret ballot lists.

The congress is continuing its work. [video shows audience and presidium, where Gorbachev is shown sitting to Polozkov's right]

RSFSR Economic Reform Program Outlined

PM3108134890 Moscow NEW TIMES in English
No 35, 27 Aug-3 Sep 90 pp 23-24

[RSFSR economic reform program: "500 Days in Four Leaps"—NEW TIMES headline]

[Text] It is an attempt to make the Soviet economy go through all stages of market formation within one and a half year under the tough pressure of reforms. In industrialized nations such stages constituted an entire epoch.

The programme is called "The Concept of an Accelerated Switching of the Soviet Economy to Market Principles." It consists of two parts. The first contains fundamental principles and directions of reforms and the second an almost day-to-day schedule of practical measures to be carried out in four stages.

The first point of the programme, entitled "LEGAL GUARANTEES," provides for the right to any economic activity and any type of property, equally for Soviet and foreign citizens, enterprises and organizations.

DENATIONALIZATION concerns primarily small and medium enterprises connected with the service of the population and the manufacture of consumer goods. Large industrial enterprises shall issue shares.

BUDGET POLICY envisages lower expenditure on subsidies for unprofitable enterprises, agriculture and defence.

Taxes on personal income are to be levied under a tougher scale than taxes on profit. The aim of such a tax reform is to stimulate not personal consumption, but productive accumulation, enterprising initiative and investment. A high tax is to be introduced on new industrial construction. A classic two-tier bank system is to be established. The State Bank shall retain the functions of a reserve bank and its branches shall be transformed into commercial banks.

FOREIGN TRADE POLICY is based on the belief that it is impossible to stabilize the economy without large foreign loans and direct foreign investment. Initial steps in this direction will be negotiations with the aim of receiving credits on favourable terms and stabilization credits. The ruble is to be devalued and its exchange value will be the same for trade and non-trade operations.

Urgent measures are being taken to make debtor nations pay off their debts.

AGRARIAN REFORM guarantees the equality of all forms of property. There will be no subsidies for enterprises. Subsidies shall be allocated from local budgets for concrete types of produce. Non-repayable centralized capital investments are to be reduced to a minimum. The fixed assets of unprofitable state farms will be sold out. The property of bankrupt collective farms is to be divided between their members. Peasants will be able freely to leave the farm with their individual plots of land.

A land market is to be established together with a commodity exchange of material and technical resources for agriculture. The state order and state control over

prices shall remain only for one or two types of key agriculture produce. All restrictions on the sale of goods will be lifted.

SOCIAL GUARANTEES. The state will not guarantee employment. The following system to social protection is to be introduced: rationed distribution of staple goods; the indexing of incomes, with maximum additional payment for the growth of prices spreading only to benefits and pensions. The growth of the wage fund (compensation for inflation) shall be limited by a certain indicator.

All institutions and mechanisms for servicing unemployment, known the world over, will be introduced. Among them are benefits, retraining and public works.

Social programmes of aid to concrete social groups are being worked out.

Preparatory stage: amendment of laws, measures to guarantee the rights of ownership, the transfer of land and housing to citizens, the transfer of enterprises and organizations to their personnel, taking stock of state property, ascertaining of the country's foreign and internal debts, initial measures for the sale of state-owned enterprises.

Second Stage—denationalization. All forms of denationalization of mainly small and medium enterprises—purchase, buying in installments and lease—shall be used and encouraged. A large non-state sector with a system of free price formation is to be created. A rigid tax system will simultaneously be introduced. The work of improving legislation will be continued. Banking reform shall also be carried out at this stage.

Third stage—actuation of market mechanisms. If privatization gathers pace, a structural reform of the economy will begin. If not, extreme, unpopular measures will be taken. Among them are the freezing of savings and the exchange of banknotes (a monetary reform). New taxes and the arresting of the funds of enterprises are not ruled out.

A structural reform will bring about a reduction in the output of basic—power and metallurgical—industries. This will be accompanied, in some cases, by the bankruptcy and closing of enterprises. A redistribution of manpower will take place.

The reforms proceed according to market mechanisms. The state does not intervene. It does its own business, extending the infrastructure (transport and communications).

A complex of social guarantees, mainly in kind, not in cash, is to be introduced.

Fourth stage—stabilization. If the structural crisis is over—this is to be expressed in a slower decline in the output of basic industries, in the increased output of consumer goods and in the reduction of prices for them—the stage of stabilization will begin. Stabilization

programmes are to eliminate large disproportions, improve social protection, and regulate prices by economic methods.

Various resources, even foreign aid, will be used for the purpose of stabilization.

Economic Reform Program Draws Diverse Responses

Criticism 'Technical' in Nature

*PM3108150090 Moscow NEW TIMES in English
No 35, 27 Aug-3 Sep 90 pp 24-26*

[Article by Boris Pinsker: "'Storm and Stress' Policy. A Resolute But Not Infallible Programme"]

[Text] The programme evokes mixed impressions. It is hardly necessary to comment on its provisions agreeable to economists, such as a firm emphasis on a radical reform, privatization of state property as the starting point, and the goal of radical reform, pragmatism and de-ideologization. Unfortunately, the programme also has its shortcomings which are almost as evident as its merits.

An attempt to map out the future

The desire to work out a programme of reforms, to devise not only a theoretical outline but also the tactics of the government's actions, produces obviously unintended effects. For instance, on the first day of the reform, the President is supposed to warn the population about "the forthcoming tax reform." On the tenth day, he warns about the abolition of subsidies to enterprises. It should be noted, however, that the publication of the draft programme makes many of the President's steps needless, because the public has already been warned about everything.

The authors of the programme seem to have been carried away by the idea of mapping out the future and governing public affairs according to a schedule. Instead of the discretion characteristic of economic programmes, instead of an analysis and examination of alternatives, one finds the commanding tone of directives issued by general staffs. During the first 50 days of the reform, it is planned to take inventory of all installations that have not been completed, compile a list of installations that have to be closed temporarily, and begin the sale of materials and equipment redundant to these installations.

Who will do all this and how? In the years of Soviet government, no attempt of this kind has proved successful. It should be noted that this work has to be done by the existing departments before any privatization, that is, under the old administrative system. A case of day-dreaming? Certainly it is. I was appeased by the observation that the authors of the programme themselves do not take this commanding style seriously. Within a month, the government is supposed to take stock of equipment and materials, carry out inspections,

and introduce new methods, that is, to do the work which could not be accomplished in usual conditions even during a five-year plan period. But having set out this task before the government, the authors of the programme are not essentially interested in the results of inspections and stock taking. The further progress of the reform does not depend on previous results in any way.

Privatization. By what means?

Many important but vague things, precisely because they have not been elucidated, are only mentioned in passing. Let us take denationalisation, for instance. The authors of the programme believe that within little more than four months, state property worth 70 to 100 billion rubles can be sold to the population. They obviously deceive themselves and the public by hoping to return state property to private ownership so quickly and easily. It usually takes great effort and a much longer time to achieve this goal.

It will be recalled that the energetic and enterprising government of Margaret Thatcher spent almost four years to privatize state property estimated at 18 billion pounds. And this is in Britain, with its rich experience in organising markets and many domestic and foreign investors. The motives of the authors of the programme seem to be quite clear. As the saying goes, fortune favours the brave. That is true, of course. But in such a serious matter as privatization, extreme boldness looks dangerous, compromising the very idea of radical reform.

The failure of the programme could plunge the country into a dangerous political chaos with a hardly predictable outcome. There is a more dangerous thing, however. Fearing unpredictable consequences and having no full confidence in the success of the programme, its authors envisage administrative measures, thereby agreeing beforehand with their principled opponents from the United Workers' Front and the leadership of the Communist Party of Russia.

For instance, if privatization does not proceed rapidly enough - and it can definitely be said that less than 40 billion rubles' worth of state property will have been sold by the 180th day of the reform - the programme envisages the freezing of deposits and a partial confiscation of large ones (by the introduction of a special tax on deposits of more than 20,000 or 30,000 rubles), as well as a tougher tax policy.

One can see here not only a poor imitation of Lenin's New Economic Policy—the necessity to retreat with the aim of gaining time in the historical perspective (a sort of Scythian tact of tempting the enemy into the depth of the country), but also a startling confusion of notions and poor understanding of the essence of the initiated processes.

Will the demand for valuables drop?

What is surprising is the criterion of transition to purely administrative methods of regulating demand and to a partial monetary reform, namely, the selling of about 40 billion rubles' worth of property to private citizens. One of the aims of such a hasty sellout is to divert part of the inflated demand to the purchase of property in means of production, housing and land.

Why are the authors of the programme confident that the active purchase of this property can lessen pressure, say, on the food or car market? Can it be said that people who are well-off will tighten their belts on buying land or factories or that they will use municipal transport only, deciding to buy cars after the 500 days have passed? Certainly not! The most that vast purchases of property in means of production can do is to reduce the demand for jewelry and antiquities and the volume of foreign travel. The money circulating in these three spheres can indeed be drawn into the purchase of state property. It can firmly be stated that expenditure on the purchase of land and factories will bring zero effect in all other spheres.

The liberalization of price formation on the principal consumer markets is envisaged by the programme only in the volume of privatization that has been achieved, and moreover with a 20- to 40-day delay. There is no hope that in the first 180 days some industries will be privatized in amount sufficient to counterbalance the appropriate prices. For this reason the inflated demand can be satisfied only at the third stage of the reform, when almost all enterprises will be allowed to set the prices of their goods freely.

Thus the liberalization of price formation will be carried out after a monetary reform and a partial confiscation of savings. Two questions arise here. Is it necessary to wait 180 days instead of doing what has already been planned, consciously or not (a monetary reform and a confiscation)? Why not liberalize price formation for industries which have not yet been privatized without spending efforts on a dubious monetary reform?

The view that privatization, carried out within a set time-limit, can lessen the pressure of consumer demand seems doubtful, to say the least, as if the owners of private businesses and their personnel would have to earn and consume less than they did before privatization. The opposite is most likely. A substantial rise in incomes should be expected at privatized enterprises. It will be so at least because they do not have to keep a large managerial and party staff. Thus, if government control over prices remains, the inflated demand can only increase. The nature of this blunder in the logic of the authors of the programme is quite clear and therefore especially unfortunate. It comes from pretensions, to represent the difficult and vague as simple and settled.

The remnants of Bolshevism

An essential problem of the reform, both theoretically and practically, is how to liberalize price formation and simultaneously alleviate for poor families the consequences of an inevitable soaring of prices for almost all goods and foodstuffs. The privatization of shops and wholesale and retail trade warehouses is the first step towards a liberalization of prices. Auctions or any other forms of public sale do not produce quick results. It is therefore necessary to make the personnel take the appropriate property into their hands (a sort of compulsory privatization).

The programme does not envisage a mechanism for this purpose, and most likely it has not been considered. It should also be remembered that a mere privatization in trade creates no fewer problems than it solves. For even in big cities like Moscow, the majority of shops are local monopolies in their field of trade. This is especially so in the provinces and in the countryside. The situation can hardly be changed by the adoption of anti-monopoly legislation. It is necessary to provide conditions for trade competition.

No measures will help, though, because the programme for liberalization of prices contains an important exception. It says that "the state retains control over the prices... on staple agricultural products in the volumes needed for a rationed distribution." The introduction of this point even by market oriented radicals shows that the Bolsheviks' long-time and absolutely unfounded belief in the power of decisions (once prices are set, everything will come right in the end) seems to have become firmly ingrained in the minds of all people. In such a situation, effective results can be achieved if the state controls not only grain prices but also the structure of the area under crops, and so on. Otherwise, there will be famine and ruin in the country.

It is probably time we gave up making routine and ineffective decisions. Why not try methods yielding good results in the West? For instance, to ensure a guaranteed increase in food production, the state undertakes to maintain wholesale prices at a level allowing the majority of commodity producers to operate on a paying basis. It also undertakes to maintain the purchasing power of pensions and social benefits.

This also refers to manufactured goods. The programme envisages price control on a number of them. "The state," it says, "introduces the maximum index of prices for certain goods, with a tough progressive tax for exceeding this index." Given such an approach, the good desire to supply the population with a certain amount of cheap goods is absolutely unrealizable. It can be predicted with confidence that within a short time, all "socially privileged" indexed goods will be hard to obtain. They will be rationed and sold on the black market.

In the prosperous United States, the distribution of food among the poor can somehow be effected because

serious employers will not engage in shady dealings with government-supplied cheese and milk. In the not so prosperous Russia, where 70 to 90 percent of all goods are almost unavailable, such a practice will lead to unbridled profiteering on a mass scale and to social unrest.

Even the most reasonable system of stimulating food output will not bring success under the given programme of privatization in agriculture. State farms operating at a loss and unprofitable farms run by factories to supply their personnel with products are to be sold, and members of farms will receive "the right to leave them freely with an individual plot of land and a proportionate share of the property."

Such a decision would be very opportune in 1930-1939, when the owners of plots were still alive and the experience of peasant farming had not yet been forgotten. However, this is not enough for presentday collective farmers, most of whom are dispossessed. The question of allotment (what plot, where and how) must be decided with the participation of all other farmers, for otherwise the stead of the few individual farmers will be set on fire. On the other hand, individual farmers will be given the worst plots of land and agricultural implements if the question is decided by all other farmers.

A way out of this impasse lies only in compulsory privatization, in making peasants run their own plots of land. It is the only realistic decision if social stability is to be ensured. Of course, individual peasants should be allowed to remain in a collective farm. It will be a new collective farm, with each member having a guaranteed plot of land and the right freely to leave the farm.

The danger of inflation

The authors of the programme envisage measures to protect the population from an inevitable inflation and even note that, unlike standard programmes of the International Monetary Fund, their programme will lay the main burden of the reform on the prosperous sections. They intend to compensate for the growth in prices by raising pensions and benefits in the ratio of 0.7 to 1 percent of the price increase. It can be easily calculated that with the growth of prices by 200 percent, which is quite possible, the real incomes of pensioners will drop by more than 50 percent, which can create the threat of hunger among poor social strata.

The programme envisages that "the wage index at state-owned enterprises must be 0.3 to 0.5 percent for one percent of the price rise." It is a rather lame proposal, though its intention is clear. The accelerated impoverishment will impel the personnel of state-owned enterprises to carry out privatization because enterprises run by the personnel do not have a rigidly fixed wage fund. But the privatization of even small and medium enterprises cannot be done instantly while in the petrochemical, metallurgical and extractive industries this question can be raised only after a large market of capital appears. Does this mean that the workers in these industries will

earn a year later as much as pensioners and hospital nurses receive? I am sure the authors did not want to create conditions for a social revolution. It is simply a minor flaw, through a very essential and dangerous one.

For the purpose of accelerating the structural reform of the economy, the programme envisages "a tax on new industrial construction," equalling 20 to 30 percent of its estimated cost. The intention is clear and justified. It is to switch funds over to housing and social construction by making it considerably more advantageous than industry. However, the people need not only housing and schools but also jobs. The reform will be accompanied by the dismissal of workers in many spheres of activity. "A tax on new industrial construction" will make it difficult to create new jobs and can aggravate social tension. Moreover, privatization will call for large investment to meet new requirements in the industries taken into private hands.

For instance, with the obviously redundant output in the agricultural machinery industry, it will have to cut the production of present machines and simultaneously organize the mass production of new, small and economical ones. The aforementioned tax will increase the cost of new capital investment and speed up inflation in this way.

In conclusion of this analysis, I shall note some more minor flaws.

The programme envisages government orders for products exported under long-term agreements. What is meant is not the delivery of armaments, because the munitions plans are still in the hands of the state. But for all other industries a system of this kind is disastrous because export goods are usually the best of what is manufactured in the country and the preservation of government orders for them indicates that their production is relatively unprofitable (for why then to retain government orders?). The compulsory manufacture of goods unprofitable for an enterprise will most likely impel it to switch over its resources to the manufacture of goods not included in government orders and therefore more profitable.

The intention to increase the rates of taxes on land, inheritance and gifts does not seem to be well justified. Folk customs should be respected, of course. While offering reduced taxes on private capital, it is necessary to refrain from raising taxes on the wealth itself. One should not follow strictly even the most deep-rooted socialist traditions, for otherwise capital may go underground where large sums of money are still kept.

Under such an order, it will be impossible to draw the money kept by people for public use. Moreover, the new money will constantly go underground because in the final account, every person works first of all for himself and for his family. If this connection is broken, the people will find ways of evading the new exorbitant tax.

It should be pointed out in conclusion that all the criticism of the programme is of the technical nature. It concerns details and in no way casts doubt on the basic ideas of the programme. Moreover, this programme or a similar one seems to me the only reliable and practical way of overcoming the crisis which has been dragging on for decades. For this reason, it is especially imperative now to draw the attention of public opinion and first of all the authoritative expert group to the drawbacks of the 500-day programme which, if neglected, may get into a Union programme. This is likely to cause a great deal of trouble. But there is still time to avoid the mistakes inherent to the present programme.

'Further Study' Required

*LD0409081190 Moscow TASS in English 0651 GMT
4 Sep 90*

[By TASS parliamentary correspondents Yuriy Kozmin and Pavel Ostrov]

[Text] Moscow September 4 TASS—The programme of the transition to a market is being discussed today in the Russian parliament.

Russian Prime Minister Ivan Silayev set out the programme on Monday [3 September]. The programme proceeds from the fact that a speedy transition to a market is impossible without the coordination of the transition among all Union republics.

A fundamentally new structure will be set up to govern this process—an inter-republic economic council, which will replace ministries for separate industries. The council will report directly to President Gorbachev.

Silayev said that this programme would offer a real chance to stabilise and later improve the economic situation.

The programme will be discussed in the committees and commissions of the Russian parliament today.

Commenting on Silayev's statement, Sergey Kovalev, a member of the Presidium of Russia's Supreme Soviet, told TASS that he regarded it as a declaration of good intent and not as a firm programme of action. The full text of the programme, which runs to nearly 1,000 pages, requires further study, Kovalev said.

Chairman of Russia's Supreme Economic Council Mikhail Bocharov refused to comment on the substance of the programme saying only that a detailed analysis of the programme was necessary.

At the same time, prominent economist Viktor Sheynin told TASS that he was impressed by the report. He said he believed that the programme could serve as the basis for economic reform, not only for Russia but also for the entire Soviet Union.

The debate in committees and commissions of the Russian Government's programme will last several days. The Russian parliament will assemble for a plenary meeting on September 7.

Voronin Predicts Wide Backing

*LD0509074290 Moscow TASS in English 0613 GMT
5 Sep 90*

[By TASS parliamentary correspondents Pavel Ostrov and Yuriy Kozmin]

[Text] Moscow September 5 TASS—"The economic reform programme of the Russian Federation will receive the backing of other Union republics and become a Union programme," believes Yuriy Voronin, chairman of the Russian parliamentary commission on budget, plans, taxes and prices.

The draft economic reform programme will be discussed in Russian parliamentary committees and commissions today.

Voronin thinks that "the reshaping of relations of production calls, first and foremost, for changes in the management structures and across-the-board powers."

The programme emphasises the need to form new production relations, which will bring about changes in relations between the centre and the Union republics. These relations will be built on a new contractual economic foundation.

Voronin did not rule out the possibility that "a considerable part of this programme could be implemented in various forms in the Baltic republics."

"The programme, which was submitted to parliament, aims at new approaches, at market relations, which demand that the present management structures be abolished and state property be privatised," Voronin emphasised.

The results of the economic reform programme discussion in commissions and committees are expected to be presented to the Russian parliament on Friday [7 September].

Committee To Combat Bread Shortage in Moscow

LD0409212490

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1953 GMT on 4 September carries in its "Television News Service" program a 3.5-minute report by correspondent O. Mezhanina on the work undertaken by the anti-crisis committee set up by the joint efforts of the Moscow City Soviet, the Moscow City Executive Committee, the Procuracy, and the city militia to overcome the shortages affecting the capital of the Soviet Union.

She notes that the shortage of bread continues and that lines form as soon as bread appears in the shops. The situation has improved somewhat as far as the cigarette

shortage is concerned, at least in the city center, she notes. "It is difficult to say whether a way out of this situation really has been found, but Moscow City Soviet has reacted to it clearly; an anti-crisis committee has been set up here," Mezhenina notes.

She then interviews Sergey Stankevich, deputy chairman of the Moscow City Soviet, who explains why the committee was set up. "Tobacco disappeared. There are difficulties with bread now. A similar situation with other goods is not excluded either," he says. Stankevich believes that it is time not just to react to the situation but also to predict such a crisis. "It was with this aim that the anti-crisis headquarters was set up, here in the Moscow Soviet, which will predict these situations, and I hope, nevertheless, avert them long before it all erupts onto our streets," Stankevich says.

The correspondent then interviews Z. Bakirov, a member of the commission. She notes that the commission knows what shortages the city will face in the immediate future and is taking measures to avert them.

Stankevich says that the Moscow City Soviet has allocated 5 million rubles [R] from the city's budget to raise the wages of bakery workers to R400-450. He says the committee has also asked repair teams from other enterprises to guarantee the smooth working order of bakery ovens. Stankevich adds that agreement is being reached with army representatives on reactivating field army bread-baking kitchens and that it has decided to allow individuals and cooperatives to lease these bakeries and to bake bread and sell it at commercial prices.

Talks have been speeded up with foreign firms regarding the commissioning of a factory making frozen dough, which will be delivered to small local bakeries and baked on the spot, Stankevich says in conclusion.

Yeltsin Addresses Theory of New Constitution

PM0309141190 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 2 Sep 90 Second Edition p 2

[Report by unnamed TASS correspondent under the general heading "B.N. Yeltsin's Press Conferences": "Russia's Constitution: Looking to the Future"]

[Text] The new Russian Constitution must be a means of attaining civil peace and national and social consensus. This was stressed at a 1 September Moscow press conference devoted to the structure and principles of the republic's fundamental law which is now in preparation.

B.N. Yeltsin, chairman of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet, who heads the RSFSR Constitutional Commission, briefed Soviet and foreign journalists on the main stages of its work.

If adopted, the new constitution will be the fifth such document. Hopes that it will have a long life and be stable are embodied in the basic principle: The constitution is structured not, as before, from the state to man,

but from man to the state. It was noted that the features of the draft include its orientation toward the individual, toward society. The document is based on the concept of a social contract between the individual, society, and the state, which makes control by a totalitarian power over society impossible. According to the authors' intention, the individual and society delegate some of their rights to the state so that the state can defend them, not suppress them. It is also proposed to deideologize the fundamental law and to enshrine the principle of the social state in it.

Speaking of problems in the machinery for adopting the document, B.N. Yeltsin disclosed that the session decided to continue work in order to have by 15 October a finished draft of the new constitution and its basic principles which could be referred for examination by the RSFSR Congress of People's Deputies. There was talk of working out a list of questions for a nationwide referendum. Incidentally, a debate flared up among the members of the commission about a referendum—whether or not to hold one. And if one is held, whether to refer for discussion the entire draft, its basic principles, or only the most important of them, such as the questions of the presidency, private ownership, and the title of the Russian Federation. Moreover, in order to hold a referendum it is also necessary to adopt a law on referenda and to make the appropriate changes to the existing Constitution. A proposal was voiced to convene a nationwide assembly with the participation of all Russia's nations and nationalities in order to adopt the fundamental law.

SOYUZ Cites Yeltsin's Comments on Tour

90UN2718B Moscow SOYUZ in Russian No 33, Aug 90 pp 12-13

[Article by SOYUZ correspondent Radik Abdullin: "Boris Yeltsin: We Will Fight To See That Russia Is a Sovereign State"]

[Text] The first stage of B.I. Yeltsin's trip through the Russian Federation has been completed. The chairman of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet has become acquainted with two most powerful autonomous republics—Tataria and Bashkiria.

In the previous issue of SOYUZ we reported on Boris Yeltsin's meetings in Naberezhnyye Chelny, Almet'yevsk, and Kazan. Today we discuss his visit to Bashkiria. Again there were meetings both planned and spontaneous, again a visit to a nuclear power plant under construction—located, incidentally, just 50 kilometers from the Tatar Republic, trips to Sterlitamak and Salavat—declared ecological disaster zones, and to the sadly remembered Ufa association "Khimprom"....

Everything was as usual, it would seem, but one would just have to take a closer look at the past week to notice immediately the unusual work capacity of the head of the Russian parliament. Traveling from early in the

morning to late at night to electrified, excited cities and villages, he spends the short night hours, it was revealed, reading and signing paperwork sent from Moscow, analyzing proposals which have come up during the course of numerous discussions with workers. Predictions of skeptics that his trip would be a tourist excursion were refuted from the very first days—Yeltsin was working. Working a lot. He did not pass over a single sore point in the region. And he took the responsibility upon himself in those places where local leaders decided not to do this.

He called the excessive concentration of industrial enterprises in Tataria and Bashkiria—so recently a subject of pride—a major political mistake of previous leaders and demanded an immediate cessation to such “industrialization,” which nature is already unable to deal with. Boris Nikolayevich passed final sentence with respect to the destiny of both nuclear power stations: If expert efforts do not yield “good,” and it is impossible to convert the nuclear plants into hydroelectric power plants—the facilities will be closed down.

Yeltsin sees a future law “On the Status of the Indigenous Nationality” as the guarantor of successful resolution of ethnic conflicts past and present. Few people are presently aware of this, perhaps, since the idea of a new legislative enactment was conceived during the trip itself and is now being worked out by the chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet’s “team.”

It is felt that presenting an account of this or that of Yeltsin’s thoughts is inappropriate—as we know, distortion can come into play when information is transmitted. I will therefore allow myself to reproduce here almost verbatim some reflections of Boris Nikolayevich, recorded on dictating machine by a SOYUZ correspondent:

“...Why did we terminate dialogue with the three Baltic republics? Yes, I did not go there just to relax. We agreed to conclude a treaty with them, with each republic separately. But we also agreed to conclude a treaty with the other republics and sent them our proposals. We pointed out that these treaties are all-encompassing in their horizontal structure—political, economic, scientific-technological, trade, social, interethnic, cultural, and so forth. Today this work is being carried out so as to try to cut out all the heavy vertical pressure exerted by the state and apparatus on everyone and everything, cut it out with our horizontal treaty ties. Then I don’t know if a Union treaty will be necessary. I think in about two months we will conclude such treaties. And they will be devoid of any preliminary political or economic conditions.

“...The structure of the soviets. We will not succeed in having a unified structure for the soviets throughout all of Russia—it is too large: 150 million people, 30,000 soviets. It is my view that the Bashkiria Supreme Soviet should gather and generalize all proposals. If a unified structure is obtained—fine. If it is two structures—we will support this also.

“We believe there is great absurdity at present with respect to the ispolkoms [executive committees], presidiums, soviets, etc. Especially where the city and rayon have a unified system. There exists one proposal: Where there is a city and rayon, there should exist a unified system of soviets, and yet two houses. The chairman of the soviet would have two deputies—one as executive and one for work with the deputies. This is one variation. Why two houses? So that in a rural rayon, let us say, villagers will have a veto. Or another structure: Lenin-graders believe that a large city, for example, needs one soviet—a city soviet, and the rayons would only have ispolkoms.

“...We have so stated, in the final analysis, and will stand up and fight to see that Russia is a sovereign state, not an appendage of the center. So that mistakes committed by the center do not cast a shadow on Russia. Because everyone believes that the mistakes of the center are Russia’s mistakes. We repudiate this.

“...The maximum amount we are able to allocate to all-Union programs is 20 billion rubles. We want to leave 50 billion for people, to improve the life of the individual, to enhance the living standard which is today slipping to the poverty level. Russia feeds everyone. Russia is always sacrificing. Russia has always given—but in the final analysis charity begins at home. And if we are indeed unable to feed the people, unable to clothe the people, then we cannot tolerate making payments to other states and sending aid there, or to other republics either. No, let us begin with ourselves. Let us improve the life of our own people, since they cannot endure any more. And if after two or three years we have not fulfilled our program, then the people can simply rise up and throw out those who are incapable of leading.

“...I was in the stores and felt uncomfortable. I was ashamed for myself and for others. Ashamed that basic products are not there. But I think that we have everything we need to solve these problems. Russia is rich—rich in people, talent, hard work, resources, land, intellect. But it is also rich in thick-headedness, and in this lies the issue of leadership.

“...Of course, we must destroy this entire—I call it bureaucratic—distributive system. A system that first collects from everybody everything that has been produced, and then divides it up. In this we see the authority. And this is precisely the element of authority we must take away from the supreme apparatus. And we are setting about accomplishing this now. On the Russian Federation level we are cutting the number of ministries in half. We are halving the number of employees, halving the number of deputy chairmen in Russia’s Council of Ministers. We are cutting expenditures on the apparatus in half, cutting in half, while taking on our shoulders all Union enterprises simultaneously.

“We have decided that absolutely every minister and deputy chairman of Russia’s Council of Ministers be

replaced by new, unspoiled people, people who are truly able to reason. Ministers of the ages of 32, 35, 40, and 45 have been confirmed. It is mandatory that all ministers, all deputy chairmen be younger than Yeltsin and Silayev.

"...I ask you, the entire leadership, and all the working people of Bashkiria to work intensely right now so that we do not lose the harvest. It hurts to be purchasing 44 million tonnes of grain from other countries, which the Union today cannot approach. Today no one is extending credit to the Union government. They are ready to aid Russia—under a new leadership, under new programs, under radical changes."

Preliminary calculations show that, during the course of his week-long trip, B.N. Yeltsin appeared in front of 100,000 people at the minimum. He has obtained the credit of confidence, of which he spoke, in Tataria and Bashkiria. But credits have to be paid back, as we know. A great deal is being accomplished in this regard by the leadership of Russia, and a great deal more remains to be accomplished. For a loss of confidence under today's extremely complicated conditions is tantamount to a loss of the future.

Yeltsin Discusses Far East Fishermen's Problems

LD0209151790 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
2100 GMT 1 Sep 90

[Text] Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin, chairman of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet, has spent three weeks touring the country. He visited Tataria, Bashkiria, the Urals, Kemerovo Oblast, and the Far East. In Maritime Kray, Sakhalin, and Kamchatka, Yeltsin held meetings with sailors and fishermen and went into their problems. In Yuzhno-Sakhalinsk Boris Nikolayevich had a radio conversation with fishermen at work in various parts of the world. Answering questions from the fisherman the head of the Russian parliament said, in part:

[Begin Yeltsin recording] Attention everyone at the radio microphones and telephones. This is Yeltsin. I agree that the situation you are in is abnormal, with 62 percent of the fleet obsolete, and that something has to be done. There is no point in counting on investment by the center because the economy is now being decentralized and property is being denationalized, so there will be nowhere to obtain such subsidies since most of the resources, will be in the hands of the producers. Realizing the position held by Sakhalin Oblast, Sakhalin together with the Kurils, the Russian Supreme Soviet has adopted a law on granting Sakhalin the status of a free enterprise zone along with five other zones—Maritime Kray, Chita Oblast, Leningrad, Vybor, and Kaliningrad Oblast.

We think this initial experience will be very important for Russia's future economic policy and the introduction of the market, since these are elements—and quite major elements—of the market. We want the people of Sakhalin to determine this status themselves. The law on

granting Sakhalin the status of a free economic zone has been adopted only in principle, but yourselves, the fishermen, oilmen, and all the others who work and live here, must decide what this is to entail. Together with the oblast and town soviets, the status will be ratified by the federation's Council of Ministers, and Sakhalin will be given independence in many areas; most importantly, the independence to take your own decisions on organizing joint ventures and organizing small enterprises. It is very important that licenses be transferred, so that instead of making your way to Moscow and spending months begging and extracting licenses to dispose of your output, the oblast soviet here will take those decisions and grant those rights. And a range of other issues too, probably including taxation.

It seems to me, therefore, that the fisherman should unite, particularly since you have a strike committee, and get together with the management to draw up the conditions for this oblast free economic zone status and submit them officially to the oblast soviet session. They should cover questions connected with licensing and the right to sell your products yourselves, the right to choose clients, the right to conclude delivery contracts with them, the right to contractual prices and so on.

As for taxation, I realize that this is not an easy issue; it is one for the Supreme Soviet, since there is a Union law setting the tax on profits at 45 percent. I also realize that this is quite extortionate, and we in Russia must put this law right. We shall work toward the 35-38 percent level which is standard in world practice. It would be nice if you could keep within this percentage, although there may be some exceptions, and perhaps fishermen should be given just such a (preferential) tax. But once again this must be fully worked out with your economists to see how things work out here—what results and what you can allocate for the fishermen's social requirements, and for housing and social and cultural amenities, which are in an unsatisfactory state here.

Then there are issues concerning wage coefficients. I think that once enterprises are given total or almost total independence coefficients [words indistinct] whether northern, southern, or eastern coefficients. That is, the managers and trade unions will themselves set their wage levels in contracts, and distribution of pay will then be fairer between, let us say, fishermen, doctors, teachers, and the service and retail sectors who have to work in these climatic conditions. Fair distribution of pay can only be decided here, not in Moscow. In Moscow people do not see how you work, they do not know what your difficulties are.

I was told in Nakhodka that the average life expectancy for captains is 48 years, and this cannot fail to give rise to intense concern and worry. Such a situation cannot be allowed to continue. When I heard that 60-70 percent of staff in fish factories are women, in such tough conditions, this cannot be regarded as normal and it also has to be put right. So by giving you independence and having here opportunities and resources, your leadership is

capable of sorting things out if you now move in this direction quite boldly, quickly, energetically, and radically, rather than the way we have been moving for the last five years; we can actually get things moving in Russia, including the Far East. We can, we can put it right.

I shall do everything to continue this work regarding independence for Sakhalin and its relevant organizations and enterprises, and then things will be up to you. Thank you, and I wish you success. Good bye. [end recording]

Deputy Uglanov Comments on Yeltsin's Tour
90UN2751A Moscow ARGUMENTY I FAKTY
in Russian No 35, 1-7 Sep 90 pp 1-2

[Article by A. Uglanov, ARGUMENTY I FAKTY special correspondent and RSFSR people's deputy: "Moscow-Kamchatka. A Marathon With Brief Stops"]

[Text] Boris Yeltsin, chairman of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet, has completed a trip through a number of regions of the republic. Our special correspondent, RSFSR People's Deputy A. Uglanov, shares his impressions.

The Greatest Mystery of Russia

There are probably phenomena that are difficult to explain in any country of the world. In Egypt, for example, it is the graves of the pharaohs, and on Easter Island the golden idols. I should like to discuss a somewhat different kind of phenomenon which we have here in Russia.

Tataria extracts millions of tons of oil and Bashkiria is the largest producer of petrochemical products. The Urals provide iron and steel, an endless flow of trainloads of coal comes from Novokuznetsk and Vorkuta, and the Far East, Sakhalin, and Kamchatka are simply "swimming" in the most valuable breeds of fish. The list could be continued ad infinitum.

But where is all this? Which bottomless pit did it all drop into?

There is no fresh fish in Sakhalin and there are waiting lines at the gas pumps in Tataria. But there is not enough gasoline in Sakhalin either, nor is there enough fish in Vorkuta or Novokuznetsk. It is impossible to list all the combinations, but almost all of them include a "minus" sign. The impression is that everything disappears like water into the sand.

In almost all the regions we just visited this riddle will not leave people in peace. Nobody understands where the results of their labor are disappearing. Into which "storehouses of the homeland"?

And what is left? In the industrial regions such as Sverdlovsk Oblast, Bashkiria, and Tataria there is a superconcentration of industrial enterprises. The outflow of people from the villages and city has created the

preconditions for a critical shortage of food products. But the most terrible thing is that these regions are being transformed into real ecological disaster zones. There are acid rain, poisoned air and water, and hundreds of thousands of tons of harmful substances discharged into the atmosphere, among which one finds dioxins.

There is also another, less puzzling phenomenon. The center is still literally delving into all the trivia. For example, the Far Eastern floating base "Rossiya" would have been repaired in a year in Singapore. No, impossible! It can only be done here and in it will take three years. Nobody, except the fishermen themselves, is bothered by the fact that the losses due to this will amount to 200 million rubles.

Residents of Novokuznetsk cannot get out of their slims and the miners of Vorkuta cannot take advantage of the right to sell coal which they won through their strikes. Housing construction combines and brick plants which could have been purchased abroad from the hard currency they earned are still an impossible dream.

All this senselessness makes people angry and makes them look for independent paths.

A Parade of Sovereignties

This heading was taken from one of the newspapers. It seems that it reflects very precisely the process that has begun not only in the Union but also in the Russian Federation.

Many ascribe national nuances to the concept of "sovereignty." This is true, but only partially. These nuances are rather acquired when any attempt to gain economic and partially political independence encounters a resolute—"No!"

Before his trip to Tataria and Bashkiria B. Yeltsin was also advised to show firmness since separatist tendencies were supposed to be strong in these republics. But what arguments could persuade the people who greeted him here with placards reciting well-worn slogans which evoke less than pleasant feelings in the Russians who have been living here for centuries? He took a different tack by saying: Do you want independence? Go ahead and take as much as you can "digest." But then you yourselves will be responsible to the people. This usually put a stop to the questions and sullen looks.

But, for instance, the indigenous residents of Kamchatka Oblast, who are Koreans and also wish to proclaim sovereignty, would like to have their supplies continue to come from the oblast. But what point would there be for the oblast in doing this? So the showy side of independence disappears after it is declared. And daily work begins.

The Russian parliament, for example, is faced with such a problem as the introduction of their own monetary unit. This step is extremely undesirable and this is why

the chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet has suggested to President Gorbachev that they jointly develop a new economic program.

But not everything is going smoothly. Such an action on the part of the president as overriding the decree of the Presidium of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet concerning economic protection of sovereignty, of course, would not go unnoticed and responsive measures would be adopted. Just as measures have been taken for halting the sale of gold abroad unless it is sanctioned by the supreme authority. B. Yeltsin considers this a crime and has no doubt that the people responsible for it will be punished.

So the republic's independence, like the independence of a number of regions, is already beginning to be manifested. Their representatives are going to other oblasts and republics to reach agreements on reciprocal deliveries. At first measures of a protectionist nature are also possible. For example, several oblasts have adopted decrees banning the shipment of meat products beyond their borders. Novokuznetsk, Chita, and Kamchatka have already suffered from this. At the same time they are thinking about responsive measures here. They are discussing coal, metal, fish, timber, and so forth. So probably very soon the circumstances will force everyone not to separate but to establish as many contacts as possible.

Closed Cities

There are more than 20 of these in Russia. Among them are Sverdlovsk, Chita, and Khabarovsk. The chairman of the soviets of these cities are wracking their brains trying to figure out how to live with the "coming" market. New technologies and investments can actually come to them only from abroad. But the path for foreigners to come here is "blocked." This has to do mainly with the defense industry and the presence of military facilities and hence conditions of secrecy.

For the time being, of course, it is necessary to have both, although there must also be a significant reduction. But what about the people who in the near future will stop receiving centralized funds for food, construction materials, and everything else?

Residents of Kamchatka and Khabarovsk are ready right now to begin mutually advantageous business with the Japanese, South Koreans, and Americans. Then the former could receive hard currency from tourism and the latter could put into operation the gas line from Sakhalin to save the area from the energy crisis which will be inevitable in the next year or two. The Union program was fulfilled for this region by 50 percent and abandoned.... It is necessary to solve this problem immediately, although another will still remain.

For years the Ministry of Defense took away almost unlimited areas of land whether it needed it or not. For example, on the Kamchatka Peninsula they took almost everything. Fishermen cannot fish in the zones and

hunters cannot hunt there. Very few people know what actually happens within the zones. But there is a solution. After the adoption of the laws of the RSFSR "On Local Self-Management" and "On Land," and the determination of the price of land, it will be necessary to revise all documents concerning taking land away. The military will hardly be able to pay the rent on hundreds of thousands of hectares. Whether they like it or not they will have to "tighten their belts" and take up only as much space as they actually need.

B. Yeltsin visited a nuclear missile carrier and one of the military settlements. The inhuman amount of stress the submarine sailors have to overcome when spending 90 days at sea in no way corresponds to the living conditions of their wives and children in the garrison. Supplies are worse than in the neighboring Petropavlovsk. This pertains to industrial goods as well. So where is the money from the military budget going? Is it not going to build dachas costing hundreds of thousands of rubles outside of Moscow for the generals? Are empty aircraft not being used to transport the bigwigs rather than to ship fruits and vegetables to distant garrisons?

The soldiers and officers asked about creating their own Russian army. The chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet is against this since such a step would lead to a complete collapse of the Union. And the Supreme Soviet sees its task as consolidation of the republics, but not in the way that is being suggested by the center but through free delegation of rights to it and through mutual agreements among sovereign states.

At the same time B. Yeltsin must immediately develop a system of measures directed toward making sure that Russian recruits never participate in military actions against the peaceful population in any other republics or their own.

On Local Soviets

The first, almost democratic, elections of people's deputies at all levels took place recently. It would seem that our long-awaited freedom has arrived. But at many meetings, including with economic leaders, the head of the Russian leadership was not asked but begged to leave in the region, say, 20 percent of the products that were produced and let the rest go to the state order. That is, many people still do not understand that the sovereignty proclaimed by Russia includes their freedom and the possibility of their being their own masters. The state is for the people and not vice versa.

This way of stating the question frightens many people—they think everything will fall into shreds! But the people are not the enemies of themselves and their children. Would the Sakhalin fish spoil the river that sustains them? Would the Sterlitamak City Soviet build yet another chemical giant right next door even if this would promise millions? Of course not.

And many people have already understood this. But in some places they are still looking at the party committees

fearing that threatening monster of the recent past. Perhaps this is why we still continue to combine party posts with elective soviet posts in spite of the decree of the First RSFSR Congress of People's Deputies. In Maritime Kray, for example, these "hold outs" still comprise about 20 percent.

People frequently asked about party property. Many chairmen of soviets see the solution to their problems in its expropriation. Perhaps they are partially right, but B. Yeltsin does not think we should use such familiar methods. The soviets must conduct a careful property inventory (although we will never find everything). And it is necessary to clarify how, when, and on the basis of what laws one object or another became party property.

Now everything will ultimately depend on the local authorities. And the natural advisers here are the voters. Frequent communication with them will help many leaders to establish themselves in their positions. The sooner they understand, the better, since the second session of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet is to adopt several dozen laws and so far people are not completely convinced that they will be fulfilled.

But that is a presumption. And after numerous meetings it became clear that the majority of the population of Russia has confidence in the Russian government and its policy. This is precisely what we will need in the next two years when the program for improving the economy goes into effect.

Kalugin's Use of Radio Liberty in Election Viewed

PM0409103490 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA
in Russian 1 Sep 90 First Edition p 5

[Report by A. Zakharov under the rubric "From the USSR KGB Public Liaison Center": "Released..."]

[Text] The name of ex-KGB General O. Kalugin has of late appeared almost daily in reports in the foreign mass media. Some see him as a "fervent champion of democracy and fighter against domination by the apparatus"; others regard him as an "expert in manipulating public opinion."

One can understand foreign journalists' interest in this man who makes "sensational exposes" of the state security organs, in which he worked for a long time. But how does Kalugin's desire to make use—in his campaign to win a parliamentary seat—of "foreign help," particularly Radio Liberty, which is well known for its "sympathy" toward the Soviet Union, square with the honor of an officer and the "noble principles" of Kalugin himself? Yes, Radio Liberty, whose basic aim is to make listeners distrust the authorities and convince them that "perestroika" is a "political stunt by the Soviet leadership," is actively involved in Kalugin's election campaign.

How is this to be explained? Why, for example, did the retired general make a present of his first KGB "exposes" to Radio Liberty, which, as one can gather

from the former intelligence officer's revelations, was once the object of his professional attention, as it is effectively the CIA's protegee? Judging by how rapidly Kalugin rose in the service, he got results in this work. Perhaps he is now using to good effect the old contacts, secretly acquired in the execution of his professional duties, for personal publicity and the advancement of his election campaign?

Kalugin is not distinguished by particular fastidiousness either. Otherwise he would not in his search for a means to get his bogus scoops broadcast have allowed his choice to settle upon Radio Liberty's nonstaff correspondent Mark Deych, who in the seventies engaged in speculation in foreign goods and illegal foreign currency deals, for which he served the prescribed term in prison. Or does the end justify the means?

It is difficult to understand how a former chekist could stoop to close cooperation with an anti-Soviet radio station. But the evidence of the touching unity between Kalugin and Radio Liberty is before us.

Tatar ASSR Supreme Soviet Session Ends

LD0109094390 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
0800 GMT 1 Sep 90

[Text] The report has just been received that the first session of the Tatar Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic [ASSR] Supreme Soviet has concluded its work. The first law it adopted is the law on power of the people [narodovlastiye]. The document says that all the power in Tataria belongs to the people. The people practice it by the means of referenda and elections of people's deputies through local and republican soviets. Not a single party, public organization or citizen of the republic can assume the right to implement the sovereignty [suverenitet] of the Tatarstan people.

From now on it is inadmissible to combine the post of leader of a state body of power or management with any other post, including posts in political and sociopolitical organizations. A republican constitutional supervision commission has been set up at the session, and the concept of transfer to the regulated market economy has been considered. It has been declared that 30 August is the day of the formation of the Tatar ASSR.

'Republic of Tatarstan' Sovereignty Detailed

PM0409105590 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
1 Sep 90 Second Edition p 3

[Report by N. Morozov under the rubric "Yesterday, Today, Tomorrow": "Tataria Has Made Its Choice"]

[Text] Kazan—Tataria's state sovereignty was declared 30 August at a routine session of the Tatar ASSR [Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet, which continued late into the evening. Parliament transformed the autonomous republic into the Tatar Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR]—the Republic of Tatarstan. That means that the former autonomous

formation will henceforth have a double official name in its Constitution and other normative acts, and in state life: "The Tatar SSR" or "The Republic of Tatarstan."

The earth, its mineral resources, natural wealth, and other resources on the territory of Tatarstan will belong exclusively to its people. All the republic's citizens, regardless of their nationality, social origin, faith, political convictions, or other differences, are guaranteed equal human rights and freedoms. The declaration stipulates the equal functioning of the Tatar and Russian languages as state languages and the preservation and development of other nationalities' languages.

The Tatar SSR Supreme Soviet has established that the adopted document on state sovereignty forms a basis for drafting the Tatar SSR Constitution, for the development of legislation, and the republic's participation in the preparation and conclusion of a Union treaty, and treaties with the Russian Federation and other republics. Tatarstan's Constitution and laws have supremacy on the whole of its territory, but until the new Constitution and other laws and normative acts are adopted, both Russian and Union laws that do not contradict the sovereignty declaration will operate in the republic.

The principles of the historic document were adopted practically unanimously—with one abstention. Despite the fact that rally passions were seething outside the hall where the parliamentary session was being held, giving rise to expressions of the most polarized opinions on sovereignty, Tatarstan's future state system, and its relations with Russia and the USSR, the people's deputies discussed alternative drafts of the declaration without excessive emotion but in a well-considered way, with respect for their opponents' opinions. Constructive dialogue was aided by the fact that the people's deputies had met with their electorate before the session and elucidated the opinion of the majority. The opinion of the majority coincided in the main: The autonomous republic's former status did not correspond with the Tatarstan multinational people's future political, economic, social, and spiritual development.

It is difficult to disagree with this. A recent Tatar Obkom [Oblast Party Committee] plenum, which supported the idea of declaring the republic's state sovereignty, cited the following facts from the socioeconomic practice of a triple-constitution autonomy, with its status within the federations resembling that of the traditional matryoshka dolls. Tatarstan, whose enterprises produce 25 billion rubles [R] worth of goods annually, does not have a single republic industrial ministry. A total of 80 percent of enterprises are subordinate to the Union, 18 to the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic], and only two percent to the autonomous republic. After transfers have been made to the Russian and Union budgets, only a miserable income remains at its disposal.

Or another indicator of the autonomous republic's second-class status vis-a-vis the Union state (Tatar ASSR

people's deputies cited these figures in the press): Lithuania, which possesses roughly the same territory and population and has a smaller national income than Tatarstan, has an income of R1,500 per capita, while in Tatarstan, it is only R212.

The mechanism for redistributing resources for the benefit of the "poor" regions does not allow the autonomous republic to fulfill many important social programs.

In a word, the autonomous republic's desire for real sovereignty is not a concession to fashion but the conscious manifestation—forged through suffering, you might say—of its national dignity.

'Nationalities Crisis' Reported in Tuva

LD3008141990 Moscow Television Service in Russian
1200 GMT 30 Aug 90

[From the "television news service" program]

[Excerpts] Another report about the nationalities crisis which has once again become acute in our country.

This summer there are no people on the roads of Tuva. While two or three months ago one could have come across vehicles with license plates from neighboring oblasts fairly often, today vehicles with Tuva passes are rare guests here.

[A.V. Masinyuk, head of a motor convoy] The situation in the republic is worrying and is not improving. We have had cases of vehicles being shot at and stoned and the drivers being beaten. The local authorities do not appear to be taking any kind of effective measures to improve the situation in the republic. [passage omitted]

[Correspondent] The rise in crime has most of all hit the economy of the republic. Having lost their faith in the government promises to stabilize the situation, people have started to move to nearby areas. There have now been cases of direct cancellations of contracts with other enterprises in the republic. So Tuva's entire future economic prosperity depends upon the effectiveness of the efforts of the leadership and healthy forces in the republic.

Tyumen Oil, Gas Workers Threaten General Strike

PM0109204790 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA
PRAVDA in Russian 2 Sep 90 p 1

[Report by correspondent F. Sizyy: "Ultimatum for Holiday"]

[Text] Tyumen—The latest plenum of Tyumen Oblast Committee of the Oil and Gas Industry Workers Trade Union was a stormy affair. The speakers' pointed speeches did not give the feeling that the trade union leaders had simply come together on the eve of the oil and gas workers' professional holiday. After a heated debate, the plenum unanimously put a tough ultimatum to the country's president, the Union government, and

the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet. The reason?

After analyzing the draft plan for next year, the oil and gas workers' trade union leaders reached the depressing conclusion that the situation could have serious consequences for their thousands-strong collectives.

The ultimatum adopted at the trade union plenum is a tough one: If Moscow takes no notice of west Siberia, the trade unions reserve the right to appeal to the oil and gas workers' labor collectives to hold a general strike.

Happy holiday, oil and gas industry workers!

Bashkiriya Supreme Soviet Debates Nuclear Plant

LD3108184190 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
1200 GMT 31 Aug 90

[Text] In Ufa, today is the first day of work at the extraordinary session of the Supreme Soviet of Bashkiriya. In particular, the deputies are discussing the future of the Bashkir nuclear power station. The public has been protesting against its construction for a long time. However, R450 million has already been invested in the nuclear electric power station [AES] and construction continues.

On the eve of the session, the inhabitants of the town of Neftekamsk conducted a 24-hour blockade of the railway leading to the AES. On 10 September, they intend to begin a general strike if the deputies do not take their position into consideration.

Western Republics

Minsk Court Begins Trial of Hijacker Semenov

LD0409182390 Moscow TASS in English 1759 GMT
4 Sep 90

[Text] Minsk September 4 TASS—The Belorussian Supreme Court has never seen so many journalists. More than a dozen correspondents came from Sweden alone to join their Soviet colleagues in covering the trial of 17-year-old Dmitriy Semenov, who forced a Murmansk-bound Soviet aircraft to land in Stockholm.

The trial is being attended by Semenov's mother, who is a legitimate representative of the defendant, as well as by a representative of the Regional Commission for the Affairs of Minors and psychologists.

The indictment was handed to Semenov in mid-August. He is accused of "forcing the crew of a TU-154 aircraft, en route from Minsk to Murmansk, to change route and land at Stockholm's Arlanda Airport, while travelling as passenger on June 9, 1990, thus committing a hijacking of an air vessel...."

Under the relevant article of the Belorussian criminal code, a minor can be sentenced to up to 10 years in prison. The indictment notes that Semenov gave detailed

evidence that contributed to the objective investigation of the circumstances of the case, expressed regret and profound repentance. He pleaded guilty during the first hearings.

The investigators also questioned several dozen witnesses, examined material evidence, including that provided by Swedish authorities, and conducted investigative experiments. They established that Semenov decided to hijack the aircraft abroad [words indistinct] he stole from the technical school where he studied.

Witnesses are now giving evidence at the trial.

Social Democratic Party Founded in Belorussia

LD3108085290 Moscow TASS in English 0804 GMT
31 Aug 90

[By TASS correspondent Vladimir Glod]

[Text] Minsk August 31 TASS—A new party has been founded in Belorussia. Following the lead of the National-Democratic, Democratic and Republican Parties, the Social Democratic Party announced its foundation. The constituent conference was held in Mogilev.

"The Social Democratic Party is a socio-political organization of free-thinking people who feel personal responsibility for society's destiny and are governed by the democratic principles adopted by the world community," said Petr Kurelenko, member of the Coordinating Council of the Social Democratic Party.

"We act as a party of the parliamentary type. We shall seek to establish a majority in soviets of people's deputies through democratic elections. We will try to create a rule-of-law state with the primacy of common human values over class values. We reject any forms of dictatorship and violence by any class, party or group of people over others. Our immediate purpose is to ensure high living standards for every person," Kurelenko said.

The Belorussian Social Democratic Party is actively participating in work to expand a chain of primary organizations and is organizing its own press.

Agreements Signed With Kirghizia, Estonia

LD0109090890 Minsk Domestic Service in Belorussian
0515 GMT 31 Aug 90

[Text] A bilateral interrepublican agreement has been signed in Minsk on 30 August between the Belorussian and Kirghizian Soviet Socialist Republics on economic, scientific, technical, and cultural cooperation. The agreement envisages an increase in direct mutual deliveries from 1991, the creation of joint enterprises and direct establishment of relations in various economic fields. Sides also deemed it as possible to examine the question of setting up missions in Belorussia and Kirghizia.

Belorussian and Estonian ministers on the same day signed a protocol of intent regarding economic cooperation. Sides agreed to strive for unconditional fulfillment

by their enterprises of contractual obligations for this year, including the deliveries of raw materials, industrial products, and consumer goods.

The delegations of both republics have agreed to examine at the earliest possible date an intergovernmental agreement for 1991 and beyond.

Belorussian Military Exercises Set for 10-15 Sep

*LD0309183390 Moscow TASS in English 1807 GMT
3 Sep 90*

[Text] Moscow September 3 TASS—Troops of the Belorussian Military District will hold an exercise from September 10-15 to "improve field training standards, control and interaction," it was officially announced here today.

The exercise which will involve ground forces and the air force, will be held on the territory of Belorussia near the towns of Molodechno, Uzda, Slutsk, Bobruisk, Beshenkovichi and Ushachi.

In keeping with the Stockholm conference document, the Soviet Government has notified all countries participating in the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe about the exercise.

Instances of Draft Dodging Noted in Novopolotsk

*PM3108133590 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA
in Russian 30 Aug 90 First Edition p 1*

[TASS correspondent L. Tratsvskiy report: "Everyone Joins Up, While We... Go Home"]

[Text] Dozens of draftees from Vitebsk Oblast have set out from the assembly points to serve in illustrious units bearing the honorable names "Vitebsk," "Orsha," and "Liozno."

Many youths made active preparations for Army service: They engaged in sport and attended military-patriotic clubs and DOSAAF [Voluntary Society for the Promotion of the Army, Aviation, and Navy] schools. But, unfortunately, not all youths had looked forward to the draft day. Thus, an "early" sitting of entrance examinations was organized for pupils of preparatory courses in an institute in Novopolotsk. As a result, draft-age youths became students, having been "freed" from fulfilling their military duty.

"Such actions violate existing legislation," Colonel N. Koltovich, deputy military commissar of the Belorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, commented on this fact. "Fortunately, such examples no longer exist."

On the whole, the spring and summer draft in the republic passed off in a successful and organized manner. Worthy reinforcements, well prepared for service, have set out for the USSR Armed Forces.

Afghan Vets Declare Hunger Strike in Pinsk

*90UN2612B Minsk SOVETSKAYA BELORUSSIYA
in Russian 27 Jul 90 p 1*

[Unattributed report: "Afghan Vets' Hunger Strike"]

[Text] Pinsk—The appeal of the veterans of the Afghan war was unexpected for the People's Deputies of the Pinsk City Soviet who, at their regular meeting, had discussed measures for cleanup after the Chernobyl nuclear power plant disaster.

The former soldiers declared a hunger strike as a sign of protest against the two-year delay in the Youth Housing Cooperatives' construction of a building for them and for participants in the Great Patriotic War. Thirty former international soldiers conducted the strike for three days on the central square in front of the monument to V.I. Lenin. The demonstration ended with a two-hour rally in which about 1,500 of the city's residents participated. They supported the Afghan veterans with placards and political appeals and adopted a resolution which also speaks of the unsolved ecological, economic, and social problems. Speaking at the rally were leaders of the city soviet and the gorkom [city party committee] who suggested their own ways out of the situation that has developed. After five hours of discussion of the problems that had been raised, the presidium of the city soviet and the representatives of the international soldiers came to the conclusion that practically all the demands were justified. They were brought up for discussion and the adoption of a final decision at a meeting of the session of the city soviet.

Belorussian Science, Industry Body Outlines Aims

*PM3108141590 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
28 Aug 90 Morning Edition p 1*

[Mikhail Shimanskiy dispatch under "Direct Line" rubric: "Belorussian Industrialists' Association"]

[Text] A Belorussian science-and-industry association has been set up. It unites more than 30 of the republic's largest enterprises and scientific and financial establishments. These include the giants of the USSR's industry—"Belavtomaz," the automobile and tractor plants in Minsk, and others.

The association's main task is to defend the interests of enterprises from chaos in the economy. It also aims to influence the social policy of the region. Not a single new law should be adopted and not a single step that is in any way serious should hereafter be taken in economic reform without the association's prior acceptance and approval. This is the firm conviction of the association members. They intend to come forward with legislative initiatives in this area.

The association has determined specific programs in the sphere of finance, cadres, and science-and-industrial and social policy. For example, the basis for implementing projects of interest is to be financial integration. The

training of specialists in management and marketing abroad is planned. A system for the migration of the work force within the association has been considered.

The defense of enterprises' interests in market conditions is a special concern of the association. Combined sanctions will be brought against violators of contract commitments.

Worldwide Belorussian 'Fraternity' Set Up

PM3108143190 Moscow KRSNAYA ZVEZDA
in Russian 30 Aug 90 Second Edition p 1

[Report by unidentified correspondent under the rubric "Direct Line": "'Batkovshchina' Society Created"]

[Text] Minsk—The "Batkovshchina" ("Fatherland") society of the worldwide fraternity of Belorussians has been created in Minsk. This organization's statutes and program have been adopted. The fraternity's founders include the Belorussian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Academy of Sciences, the republic Writers Union, the Belorussian "Chernobyl" Socioecological Union, and others. In addition to cultural and educational tasks, "Batkovshchina" is aimed at reviving the Belorussian SSR's political and economic sovereignty, and great attention will be devoted to helping victims of the accident at the Chernobyl Nuclear Electric Power Station.

Belorussian Customs Seizes Pistols, Ammunition

LD3108111390 Minsk Domestic Service in Belorussian
0515 GMT 29 Aug 90

[Text] BELTA reports that during a check on a train that had rolled into the control bay from abroad, officials of the Brest customs discovered a secret compartment in one of the carriages containing 60 gas pistols, over 600 rounds for them and several dozens gas capsules (?for paralyzing the targets).

Smuggling is becoming more and more rife. Attempts are being made to smuggle new types of weapons into the USSR.

Recently, the operatives of the Belorussian KGB, acting together with officials of the Brest customs, expropriated explosives on the person of one foreign national. As a rule, such explosives are used in subversive operations.

For whom were these dangerous gifts intended? The answer will be found during the investigation.

Correspondent Assails Railroad Mismanagement

LD0309154290 Minsk Domestic Service in Belorussian
0515 GMT 3 Sep 90

[Excerpt] Our correspondent, Vasil Hedov, reports from Soligorsk: Early this morning the latest batch of 60 cars loaded with fertilizer bearing the trade mark of Belaruskaliy returned to Kaliy station, near Soligorsk, from a journey to Czechoslovakia, they have returned

because no agreement had been signed with the Czechoslovak firm. As it is, hundreds and thousands of officials who handle all the paper work receive salaries for nothing. They simply do not know where cargo is dispatched to and whether it is wanted at the destination point.

Thus the load of fertilizer had to roll to Uzhgorod and back to Belorussia at a time when they are badly wanted precisely in our republic. And so we have 60 cars loaded to the brim rolling, rolling, and rolling for thousands of kilometers and in the end arrived nowhere. This aimless trip cost the state treasury some 30,000 rubles. [passage omitted]

Moldavian Supreme Soviet Proceedings Outlined

Snegur Elected President

LD0309165790 Moscow TASS in English 1648 GMT
3 Sep 90

[By TASS correspondents Anatoliy Golya and Aleksandr Tanas]

[Text] Mircha Snegur, the former chairman of the Moldavian Supreme Soviet, was elected Moldovan president in an open, uncontested ballot in the afternoon today.

On Sunday evening the Moldovan parliament decided at an extraordinary session to introduce an executive presidency in the republic. The need for this step is explained by the deteriorating social and political situation in the republic following proclamations of the sovereignty of the Gagauz and Dnestr republics.

Dniester To Be Discussed

LD0209151190 Moscow TASS in English 1458 GMT
2 Sep 90

[By TASS correspondent Aleksandr Tanas and Anatoliy Golya]

[Text] Kishinev 2 September TASS—Despite the appeal of the Moldova Supreme Soviet to refrain from holding unsanctioned actions aggravating the already complicated situation in the republic, the second emergency congress of deputies of all levels from the left-bank Moldova region opened in Tiraspol today.

Its delegates will discuss the creation of the Dniester soviet republic within the framework of the renewed union and "a further development of the Dniester republic in connection with the worsening of the social and political situation in the republic of Moldova," as well as "the statehood and territory of the Dniester region." The congress is expected to express its attitude to the so-called congress of deputies from the south of Moldova, who proclaimed on August 19 the creation of the Gagauz autonomous republic within the framework of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

The first congress proclaimed the creation of the economic zone of the Dniester region within the framework of the Moldova Republic. This decision runs counter both to the fundamental law of the republic and the Soviet constitution. This is why the Supreme Soviet described the congress as invalid and the decisions taken there as illegal and unconstitutional.

Gagauz Independence Censured

90UN2711A Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
22 Aug 90 Second Edition p 2

[Article by A. Pasechnik: "With All the Ensuing Consequences..."]

[Text] Kishinev, 21 August—A meeting of the SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] of Moldova Supreme Soviet Presidium took place yesterday, and the "Gagauz" question was again discussed. At the center of the agenda was the ruling of the first Congress of People's Deputies of the southern republic, where about 150,000 people live compactly.

More than 700 deputies of all levels—from settlement soviets to the republic's Supreme Soviet—assembled at that congress, which took place on Sunday in Komrat. Expressing the will of their constituents, they proclaimed the creation of the republic of Gagauz belonging to a renewed USSR. A "Declaration on the Freedom and Independence of the Gagauz People From the Republic of Moldova" was unanimously adopted at the congress. Other documents adopted at the congress of deputies concern questions of self-administration of the new Gagauz state formation, its legal and economic foundations, and the borders of the republic. It was also determined that the Gagauz will not consider themselves citizens of the SSR of Moldova. A central electoral commission was formed for elections to the Supreme Soviet of the Republic of Gagauz, which have been designated for 28 October.

As was expected, the SSR of Moldova Supreme Soviet Presidium declared the congress itself and its rulings invalid. A decree adopted by the presidium emphasizes that "execution of the rulings of the aforementioned congress will be viewed as opposition to the demands of the Constitution of the SSR of Moldova and other laws of the SSR of Moldova with all the legal consequences ensuing from it." The Ministry of Internal Affairs, the KGB, and the republic's procuracy have been charged with checking into all the circumstances in the preparation and conduct of the congress, revealing its organizers, and resolving the question of their responsibility.

Today the republic's press published a statement from the Communist Party of Moldova Central Committee Bureau expressing condemnation of the documents adopted by the congress.

Gagauz Autonomy Reasons Cited

90UN2711B Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian
21 Aug 90 First Edition p 2

[Article by V. Okunev: "The Gagauz Proclaim a Republic"]

[Text] Kishinev, 20 August—In the settlement of Komrat more than 700 people's deputies of all levels, who had arrived here from the rayons where the Gagauz are compactly grouped, proclaimed the republic of Gagauz as part of a renewed Soviet Union.

What served as the cause of such an unusual step? Many problems have accumulated for the Gagauz, who are of Turkish descent and live in the five southern rayons of Moldova. For example, the leaders of the people's movement "Gagauz Khalky" [Gagauz Independence Movement] have named problems with the region's economic development. The Gagauz are also troubled by problems of ethnic culture and language. The lowest average educational level in the republic is here. The Gagauz language is threatened. And its situation hardly improved when Moldavian was recognized as the state language. At present, schoolchildren in these rayons are obligated to learn Russian, Moldavian, and a foreign language in addition to their own.

In light of these processes, the Gagauz have been requesting the creation of a national-territorial autonomy within the boundaries of the SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] of Moldova for a long time. Two commissions of the SSR of Moldova Supreme Soviet have studied these issues. And the result? "The Supreme Soviet of the republic has not only not recognized the right of the Gagauz people to self-determination," says one of the documents of the congress of Gagauz deputies, "but it has reduced the Gagauz people to an ethnic group residing on the national territory of the Moldavians and not having their own national territory."

Participants at the first congress of people's deputies, representing 153,000 Gagauz residing in 25 villages, five rayons, and two cities, approved a "Declaration of the Freedom and Independence of the Gagauz People From the Republic of Moldova," and the documents "On a Draft Union Treaty," "On Ways of Developing the Economy of the republic of Gagauz," and a number of others. The decision was made to appeal to the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium concerning conclusion of a Union treaty. The congress designated a day for elections to the Supreme Soviet of the republic of Gagauz of the SSR of Moldova.

These were the rulings it passed.

Moldavia Votes Against Soviet Army Draft

LD0409154690 Moscow TASS in English 1508 GMT
4 Sep 90

[By TASS correspondent Feodor Angeli]

[Text] Kishinev, September 4 TASS—An extraordinary session of the Moldavian parliament ruled today to suspend the enactment of provisions on obligatory military service contained in the Soviet national Constitution and Union laws.

It established that citizens of Moldavia will no longer be drafted for service with the Soviet Armed Forces, pending a further decision by the republican Supreme Soviet.

Parliament instructed the republican government to begin talks with the USSR Government to return citizens of Moldavia, currently serving in Soviet Armed Forces and any other force involved in maintaining public order and settling interethnic conflicts in different parts of the Soviet Union, to continue service with military units deployed on Moldavian territory. The government is expected to work out a programme to form a national Moldavian army and create facilities for its functioning.

The Moldavian government has resolved to establish a 10,000-strong carabineer corps, subordinate to the republican interior ministry.

Ukrainian Supreme Soviet Scheduled for 1 Oct

*LD0309161790 Kiev International Service
in Ukrainian 1800 GMT 31 Aug 90*

[Text] The Ukrainian Supreme Soviet Presidium has adopted a decision to convene the second session of the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet on 1 October 1990.

The first point to be discussed will be the drafts of new bills directed at developing the declaration on the republic's independence.

Ukrainian Communist Party Elects New Obkom Head

*LD3108224590 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
1800 GMT 31 Aug 90*

[Text] A plenum of the Ukrainian Communist Party Oblast Committee was held in Dnepropetrovsk today. An organizational matter was discussed. It is reported that Omelchenko, previously second secretary of the oblast party committee, has been elected first secretary in an unopposed secret ballot.

Rukh Rally Demands Lenin Monument Be Torn Down

*90UN2682B Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian
18 Aug 90 p 3*

[Unattributed report: "Rally in Rovno"]

[Text] Rovno, 16 Aug (UKRINFORM-TASS)—An unsanctioned rally organized by the local cell of the Union of Independent Ukrainian Youth (SNUM) was held on 15 August in Rovno. Among the speakers were representatives of Rukh and recently created parties demanding that the monument to V.I. Lenin be torn down and removed from the city's central square. The

organizers of the rally held in their hands a portrait of V.I. Lenin crisscrossed with red stripes. There were accusations against the CPSU, the Communist Party of the Ukraine, and the obkom [oblast party committee] and gorkom [city committee]. The first secretary of the Rovno Gorkom, V.P. Opryshko, attempted to calm them down, but the people gathered there drowned him out with noise and whistles so he could not speak.

Protest Picket Held at Ukrainian KGB Offices

*LD3008190890 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 1802 GMT 30 Aug 90*

[By UKRINFORM-TASS correspondents Viktor Demidenko and Aleksey Trotsenko]

[Text] Kiev, 30 Aug (UKRINFORM-TASS)—In the Ukrainian capital today a group of representatives of the recently established Ukrainian Republican Party [URP] and the Ukrainian Students League [USL] spent several hours picketing the offices of the KGB of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR]. The protest was about a leaflet signed by the USL which has circulated anonymously among URP activists. However, leaders of the Students League declared that their organization had nothing to do with the leaflet. They accused the KGB of the Ukrainian SSR of producing a forgery, in which Ukrainian People's Deputy Levko Lukyanenko, chairman of the URP, is accused of using party funds for his own purposes.

The pickets included Ukrainian People's Deputy Oles Shevchenko, a URP activist. He showed the demonstrators an example of the leaflet that had been sent to him. Oles Shevchenko told the UKRINFORM-TASS correspondents that "similar anonymous slanders against the leaders of the Republican Party were also distributed during the recent parliamentary election campaign in the Ukraine. I was also a target. We consider that this disinformation originates in the KGB offices—to be more precise, in the Department for Disinformation of the Population."

In order to clarify the circumstances surrounding this matter representatives of the pickets were invited to have talks with Yevgeniy Marchuk, first deputy chairman of the KGB of the Ukrainian SSR. He stressed that the republic's state security organs had nothing to do with the leaflet and described it as a provocation against the state security organs. Nevertheless, a very painstaking investigation will be carried out into this incident and the results will be made known at a press conference. Yevgeniy Marchuk also briefed those present on the renewal process taking place within the KGB and noted that the republic's state security organs have never had a Department for Disinformation of the Population, nor do they now.

The picketing ended after the talks. The protest passed peacefully.

Ukrainian Official Urges End to AES Picket*LD0309131490 Kiev Domestic Service in Ukrainian
1915 GMT 1 Sep 90*

[Text] As is known, one month ago the Supreme Soviet of Ukraine declared a five-year moratorium for the construction of new nuclear power plants on the republic's territory. The same decision also forbids an increase in the capacities of the existing atomic stations over those they had by 1 August 1990.

Hladush, deputy chairman of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic Council of Ministers, has stated to the UKRAINFORM correspondent that by this date several objects were under construction. Some of them for example the second at the Khmelnytskyi and sixth at the Zaporozhye nuclear power plants, were to be completed in the current year. Now, after the decision adopted by the Supreme Soviet of Ukraine, the commissioning of the above capacities will not take place.

What is to be done with these and other power units still under construction? This question is being now reviewed by the government. The construction of a number of objects, particularly of the third and fourth power units at the Khmelnytskyi Nuclear Electric Power Station [AES], has already been stopped. The others, which are nearing completion, will be conserved. How? The most optimal solution would be, in our view, to complete there all construction and assembly work (with the aim of using the premises) for the needs of the national economy. That is what is being done at the Khmelnytskyi AES.

However, certain leaders of local branches of the Green World Association and certain people's deputies are spreading rumors that this work is being pursued contrary to the moratorium and calling the inhabitants of Khmelnytskyi and other oblasts to picket the station and carry out illegal acts. Thus, they are actually ignoring the appeal of the UKSSR Supreme Soviet to the citizens living within the zones of nuclear power plants.

So, I must state with all responsibility, stressed Hladush, that when adopting this or that decision with regard to the work of nuclear power stations, the government unswervingly observes the declared moratorium. Thus, the charging of new power units with nuclear fuel and undertaking other operations with the view of preparing these aggregates for exploitation is simply out of question.

No one should entertain any doubts as to the fulfillment in the republic of the decisions concerning the restriction of the development of nuclear power stations in Ukraine. The construction of atomic stations in Chigirin and the Crimea and of the atomic TETS [Heat and Electric Power Stations] in Odessa and Kharkov has been terminated. The fourth power unit at the South-Ukrainian [Nikolayev] AES is being conserved. Therefore, concluded Hladush, I call all the pickets who have manned their posts as a result of insufficient information about

the real state of things at atomic power stations of the republic to take into account the arguments I've listed and refrain taking part in destructive action.

Pros, Cons of Independent Ukrainian Army Viewed*90UN2598A Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian
15 Jul 90 pp 1, 3*

[Parliamentary correspondent A. Sokol report: "Passions Surrounding the Army"]

[Text] On 13 July the republic Supreme Soviet completed the paragraph-by-paragraph discussion and voting on the Declaration on State Sovereignty of the Ukrainian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic]. This short, laconic document has outlined the republic's future to a large extent: independent and with its own economy and national culture.

The draft declaration was discussed long and scrupulously. Turbulent, seemingly irreconcilable, disputes arose. The most acute and prolonged dispute was, perhaps, on the final day, when it was proposed that the deputies examine the section "Armed Forces." The mere formulation of such a question seemed for many years unacceptable, seditious, what is more. And seems so to many people today also. But life changes all ideas. Even those which even yesterday were seen as permanent.

The urgency and seriousness of this problem have been conditioned by a number of circumstances. The most important is the emergence in some republics of interethnic conflicts and the enlistment in their solution of military formations. The anxiety of parents whose children have found themselves in an extreme situation may be understood. A movement got underway: Our boys should serve on the territory of their own republic.

A number of people's deputies adhere to the viewpoint that the Army is an attribute of sovereignty and that there is none of the latter without it. Seemingly logical questions were heard in response: "Why do we need our own army? In order to confront a neighboring republic?" Professional deputies emphasized the following point: The country's defenses are based not on the territorial principle—the territorial approach is fraught with possibility of damage. The following possibility was then proposed: the creation of common strategic forces of the Union and, in parallel, republic forces.

The differences of opinions on this problem arose long before the final, paragraph-by-paragraph discussion of the declaration. They had been expressed from the parliamentary rostrum and in the standing commission. The officer and general deputies made known their collective opinion at the finish. And the truth had to be found at the final full-session discussion.

When the chairman announced that a proposal had been received concerning examination of this matter in closed session, the hall responded: "No." And so convincingly that it was not even put to the vote. There then followed

a demand for the section on the Armed Forces to be excluded from the declaration altogether. Some deputies recalled in irritation that this was the opinion of four commissions. The response from the presidium was that there are 23 commissions!

As before, the section was discussed right from the title. Many people accorded the proposed "Armed Forces" a hostile reception. A deputy who had spent the day before constantly on a busy telephone line reported that people shy away from unfortunate word combinations; caution was needed. And it was displayed. Six titles were proposed, but the deputies did not vote for one of them. The following idea was expressed from the floor: Discuss the content of the section and then give it a heading. Writers, it was said, sometimes opt for this path. But the session had its own policy, and a suitable title was found, for all that—"External and Internal Security."

When examination of the content of the section began, the debate became very intense. Sizable lines formed at the microphones, and some people pushed forward toward the chairman. It was decided to allow more time for this item—two hours. But even this measure did not cool the heated passions. A break—for coordination and additional work—was announced early.

The "pause" failed to cool passions. The following two wordings and versions of them were debated, in particular: One, the republic participates in the formation of the USSR Armed Forces, the other, has its own armed forces. Three votes in this connection produced no result. The fourth was successful. A majority of deputies supported the following version: "The Ukrainian SSR has the right to its own armed forces."

Subsequent points of the section were discussed with the same stubbornness. There were few of them, incidentally: either two or three. Nonetheless, things were deadlocked. The vote on the section as a whole did not gather the necessary number of votes (prior to this, each paragraph had been approved by a vote). Further additional work in the lunch break was proposed. But a proposal acceptable to a majority of deputies was unexpectedly found. The section was adopted to applause.

It contains the following further propositions: The Ukrainian SSR has internal forces and KGB authorities subordinate to the republic Supreme Soviet; citizens of the Ukrainian SSR perform their military service on the territory of the Ukraine, as a rule, and may not be used for military purposes outside of the Ukrainian SSR without the consent of the republic Supreme Soviet. In accordance with a proposal of Deputy I.F. Drach, the session adopted a clause to the effect that the Ukrainian SSR solemnly proclaims its intention to be in the future a permanently neutral state, not to join military blocs, and to adhere to the three nonnuclear principles: not to manufacture, not to acquire, and not to test nuclear weapons.

Ukrainian Prison Inmates on Strike 27 Aug

LD3108140590 Moscow TASS in English 1200 GMT
31 Aug 90

[Text] Moscow August 31 TASS—Inmates of a maximum security prison in the Ukraine went on strike on Monday, demanding better conditions and a shorter working week, the daily RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA reports today.

Inmates of the Sinelnikovo prison—1,300 murderers, rapists, robbers and drug addicts—demand that conditions in the prison be brought into line with international standards, medical services be fully withdrawn from the Interior Ministry system, and convicted drug addicts be regarded as sick people, rather than convicts.

The strikers sent their demands to local and republican authorities.

Officials from the Ukrainian Interior Ministry and the local prosecutor's office and members of parliament have visited the prison to settle the conflict.

Demands Met for Ternopol Greek Catholics

LD3008155790 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
1330 GMT 30 Aug 90

[Text] [Announcer] Usually we put out foreign news at this time. You will be able to listen to it a bit later. The thing is that we have recently reported that tension has again flared up in Ternopol in Lvov Oblast against a religious backdrop. Our correspondent Vladimir Lyashko promised to tell us, precisely at this time, about what had taken place there and what the situation is like today. Hello.

[Lyashko] Good day. Let me correct you right away. Ternopol is an oblast center, Ternopol Oblast.

[Announcer] Yes, of course, I confused my oblasts, forgive me.

[Lyashko] Yes, well, on Monday [27 August] a large group of the Greek Catholic Church faithful occupied the premises of the oblast executive committee and demanded the convocation of an emergency session of the oblast soviet.

[Announcer] We know about this, but what caused it—in greater detail please?

[Lyashko] The thing is that during the preceding session of the soviet a decision was adopted to the effect that all the faiths that exist in the oblast have equal rights to have their communities registered and to have places of worship. This did not satisfy the Greek Catholics who cite the fact that up until 1946 the overwhelming majority of places of worship had belonged to the Greek Catholic Church. Well, subsequently, as you know, they were handed over to the Orthodox faithful and the church itself was banned.

[Announcer] Yes, it is not a very pleasant event, but how did things develop then?

[Lyashko] Well, it has to be said that the oblast soviet reacted immediately and convened an emergency session, although you will appreciate it was not an easy thing to have done because, after all, it is the time of summer vacations and there is much work to be done in the countryside now, too. So, unfortunately, there was no quorum during the first day of the session, but the necessary majority was secured yesterday. The session was working, while several hundred faithful continued to occupy the premises of the oblast executive committee for the third day running.

[Announcer] OK, it is Thursday today. Are there any changes for the better?

[Lyashko] Yes, there are. Late in the evening yesterday the session decided to stop its work, because it will simply be impossible to solve all the problems which had piled up over many decades just like that, you know—and under considerable pressure in the bargain.

[Announcer] You stressed "all problems." But, was anything solved at the end of the day?

[Lyashko] Yes. One decision was made. The session decided that all the places of worship which had earlier belonged to the Greek Catholics will be handed over to them by 1 January. Thus, essentially, one of the main demands was satisfied yesterday and the siege of the oblast executive committee was lifted.

[Announcer] You know, this does not make for greater optimism either, because problems which pertain to other faiths, the Russian Orthodox Church, the Ukrainian Orthodox Church will surely arise in connection with this.

[Lyashko] And the autocephalous churchmen and many others—yes, you are right. The deputies decided to discuss in detail the entire range of interreligious problems in the oblast during the next session, scheduled for the end of September and the beginning of October. That is the news, then.

[Announcer] I understand. Thank you for coming on the air. Let us wait for the solutions and, as for me, I address the faithful of all the faiths that exist in our country. Please listen to a song sung by Pavel Smeyan, which has the title of one of the commandments: Do not kill.

AIDS Incidence Higher Than Data Shows

*LD3108134290 Kiev International Service
in Ukrainian 1800 GMT 30 Aug 90*

[Excerpt] A group of people's deputies have submitted a petition to the Supreme Soviet Presidium of the republic asking to intensify the struggle against AIDS. Our correspondent, Ivan Derepa, met with Valeriy Ivasyuk, member of the Supreme Soviet, one of the petition's signatories. By occupation he is a doctor.

[Begin recording] [Derepa] What has compelled you to take this step? Are things so bad in the Ukraine, concerning AIDS?

[Ivasyuk] The situation is not only dangerous but simply catastrophic. The survey and study of the carriers and victims of AIDS and the results obtained here, I mean both in the Ukraine and in the USSR, are not precise because the level of the research does not correspond to that in the rest of the world. That is why in this field we have peace and calm.

But if we resort to the diagnostic methods used in the west, then we discover here in the Ukraine many more AIDS carriers and victims. That is why we have raised the alarm. We have to check our population with more care, more closely, and resort to the diagnostic methods they use abroad.

[Derepa] Why do you continuously refer to abroad?

[Ivasyuk] Here, our state monopolizes everything, including the working-out of diagnostic methods, which is centered in Moscow and Leningrad. The guaranteed capacity of our means and methods amount only to 4.8 percent. So far, here in the Ukraine we have detected nearly 200 AIDS carriers and victims. So if you proceed from the established capacity, then the number of carriers and victims should be multiplied by 1,000. And the result—20,000—is the real number of carriers and victims in our republic today. And if we are to proceed from this figure, then in the year 2006 up to 40 percent of the Ukraine's population will become carriers of AIDS. This is going to be as real a danger as Chernobyl, a threat of ethnocide.

If we do not wake up now, if we do not allocate the necessary means, preferably in hard currency, if we do not purchase diagnostic procedures abroad, for the beginning at least, and if we do not create here joint enterprises for this purpose to later produce equipment up to the standard required by the WHO, then we shall not be able to carry out the scrupulous checking of our citizens I mentioned earlier. [passage omitted] [end recording]

Caucasus

State of Emergency Still in Effect for Armenia

KGB Official Interviewed

*LD0109051190 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
1500 GMT 31 Aug 90*

[Text] As is known, the Armenian Republic Supreme Soviet declared a state of emergency on 29 August. Here is an interview between our correspondent Koryun Khumaryan and the head of the Armenian KGB Public Relations Department, Aleksandr Sergeyevich Grigoryan.

[Khumaryan] Aleksandr Sergeyevich, after the elections to the republican Supreme Soviet, after its first days of work, the unanimity of most of the decisions gave us and, first and foremost, me the hope that the change of power is happening smoothly, without bloodshed. But, as it turns out, we as well haven't managed to avoid victims of the change of power.

[Grigoryan] You know, during any revolution, there are always those who oppose it. In this instance, these are the armed forces, who refuse to obey the parliament, and their leaders and, probably, those who support them.

[Khumaryan] After the declaration of the state of emergency, Levon Ter-Petrosyan said that we had the most peaceful night in the last six months. I think that we, today, have had the second most peaceful night because, as far as I know, there were no incidents in the republic.

[Grigoryan] According to the operative report for the last two days, there was no shooting, no killings, no outlaw attacks with the aim of getting weapons and stealing vehicles. These two nights are really different from all the others the republic has been through during the past several months. Levon Ter-Petrosyan's words were really words of hope, of peace, words of belief in the wisdom of our nation. People for the first time lately began to feel that there is a supreme power in the republic capable of defending the peace of its citizens. And I would even say that there is a supreme power that is, by all means, based on a lawful and real power. Look at what happened. The building which was occupied by the headquarters of the Armenian National Army was surrounded. The whole vicinity was blocked by the Ministry of Internal Affairs forces, including armored vehicles. At the same time, KGB officials and leaders, together with people's deputies, tried to convince the leaders of the formations of the necessity of obeying the resolution of the Supreme Soviet. Such a combination of goodwill and the force of law, reinforced by the demonstration of real military capabilities, led to positive results. This positive result can be seen even today. Just look, since the ANA [Armenian National Army] surrendered weapons, few as they were, there has been a response throughout the republic. There have already been instances of weapons handed in in the Shamshadin Rayon, in Sevan, in Stepanavan, in Ashtarak, Charentsavan, Kirovakan, Spitak, and Dzhermuk.

But in any case, there is still much work to be done in collecting weapons and finally stabilizing the situation. This is not only the work of the law-enforcement organs. People's militia and, in general, the whole public of the republic should take an active part. We will not be able to manage without the support of all the nation.

Supreme Soviet Notes 'Calm'

NC0209075790 Yerevan International Service
in Armenian 1530 GMT 1 Sep 90

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] The Armenian Supreme Soviet started its session by congratulating students on the new academic year.

It was reported during the session that last night the situation throughout Armenia was relatively calm and there have been no incidents involving armed groups.

The Supreme Soviet then discussed the formation of the permanent commissions and the candidacy of the commissions' chairmen.

The Supreme Soviet pointed to the situation in northern Artsakh [Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast] and in Shaumyanskiy and Getashen where Azerbaijani pressure has increased. Specifically, militia and armed brigades of the so-called Azerbaijan Popular Front went to Getashen and demanded that the residents either leave the village or [words indistinct] like before.

Telephone and radio links with Getashen are severed and flights have been banned. While allowing attacks by Azerbaijanis, the army does not interfere in the illegal acts that are committed. Because of this, cables have been sent from Shaumyanskiy to the relative organs in Moscow and to the United Nations.

The Getashen [words indistinct] the forced deportation of the Armenians from various Armenian-inhabited areas.

Problems Still Persist

LD0309151590 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
1418 GMT 3 Sep 90

[Text] It is a week now since the state of emergency was declared in Armenia. Here is our correspondent in Yerevan, Koryun Khumaryan:

[Khumaryan] Things are now immeasurably calmer in Armenia. According to the bulletins from the republic's Internal Affairs Ministry for yesterday and the day before there have been virtually no skirmishes, robberies, or bandit attacks, except perhaps for one incident in which 16,000 foreign audio cassettes were stolen at gunpoint from an Uzbekstroy worker in Tallinn Rayon. In the meantime arms, ammunition, and recently seized vehicles are still being handed in to the authorities. In the last two days alone more than 30 vehicles have been returned to their owners; a certain number of automatic weapons, pistols, hunting guns, and homemade rifles and grenades have also been handed in. Hail guns are also being restored to their proper places.

Specialists reckon that this process could be more intensive if it were not for a number of objective and subjective reasons: the fact that the weapons have fallen into the hands not only of the home guard but of criminal elements who naturally do not wish to give them up.

There is also trouble on the border with Azerbaijan. Last night, for instance, 12 armed horsemen attacked shepherds in Sisian Rayon of Armenia from Azerbaijani territory and abducted one of the shepherds and 116 head of cattle. The gas pipeline connecting west Siberia with Armenia via Azerbaijan is still out of action. The

republic's rayons have had no gas at all for more than a week now, and Yerevan is living on starvation rations, using up the very limited stocks in gasometers. Because of the fuel shortage the grape and fruit harvests are not being brought in from orchards and fruit farms. There has been a sharp cut in the number of city transportation routes and the frequency of service.

Armenia, Belorussia Sign Bilateral Agreement

*NC3108132690 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian
1530 GMT 30 Aug 90*

[Text] An inter-governmental agreement has been signed between Armenia and Belorussia.

Vazgen Manukyan, chairman of the Armenian Council of Ministers, received the Belorussian government delegation lead by (?Deniz), deputy chairman of the republic's Council of Ministers. The delegation had arrived in Yerevan to establish mutually advantageous relations between the two sovereign republics.

During the friendly talk the head of the Armenian government briefed the guests about the psychological, political, social and economic situation in the republic and about the new parliament of the republic and government plans to overcome the prevailing crisis. The sides raised issues of mutual concern.

After the negotiations, the governments of the Belorussian Soviet Republic and of the Armenian Republic signed an agreement on economic, scientific, technological, and cultural cooperation. In signing an inter-governmental agreement the sides were guided by and aware of the principles of the political and economic independence of the two republics. The sides' positions were based on the traditional good-neighborly relations and emanated from the objective of furthering the mutually advantageous economic relations based on equality, and took into account the need for the exchange of information and experience.

The sides agreed in principle that the level of mutual supply of products for 1991 should not be lower than the level of 1990, and that measures should be taken to (?increase) the volume of supplies in the future on the basis of uniform pricing. The reciprocal supply of products by the enterprises will be calculated within the overall balance of the exchange of goods between the republics regardless of the enterprises and organizations' administrative affiliation. The ties between the ministries and inter-departmental supply networks shall be maintained. The sides agreed to implement reciprocal relations through the relevant agreements, contracts, or protocols to be signed at the level of ministries, departments, enterprises, organizations, institutions, and similar other economic formations. The contracting sides assume full liability of their responsibilities.

The sides agreed to set up a bilateral commission for the advancement of economic, scientific, technological, and cultural cooperation. Through its working groups, the

commission will oversee the implementation of agreements, assist in the signing of agreements between the interested enterprises and organizations, and undertake other measures aimed at the establishment and broadening of stable and mutually advantageous cooperation.

It was decided to set up permanent representative offices in Yerevan and Minsk in order to advance economic, scientific, technological, and cultural relations, to coordinate the reciprocal activities of the republics, and ensure the operation of the agreements.

The document notes that the restoration and construction work in the earthquake zone in the Armenian Republic and the problems connected with the elimination of the consequences of the accident at the Chernobyl nuclear power station in the Belorussian Soviet Republic are special cases where the efforts could be culled and cooperation achieved. Therefore, the Belorussian Soviet Republic government shall examine the possibility of completion of the construction work under way in the earthquake zone in 1991-92. The government of the Armenian Republic shall participate in the elimination of the consequences of the Chernobyl nuclear power station in line with a program to be agreed upon with the Belorussian Soviet Republic government.

The agreement went into force on the day it was signed. It will be in force until 1 January 1992. However, the basic principles of the agreement will be in force until 1 January 1996.

Yerevan-Moscow Flight Schedules Disrupted

*PM3008110290 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
30 Aug 90 Morning Edition p 2*

[Report by V. Belikov: "Flight Schedules Regularly Disrupted"]

[Text] With passenger shipments at their peak, the Armenian Civil Aviation Administration is regularly disrupting flight schedules from Yerevan and Leninakan to Moscow and back.

According to the current schedule, Armenia's aviators should now be making two flights a day from Yerevan and one from Leninakan to Moscow with their Tu-154 airliners. In addition, Vnukovo's Il-86 airbuses fly to the Armenian capital four times a day. In view of the considerable difficulties with rail communications with the Transcaucasus, the demand for all air tickets on these routes is enormous, and there is a passenger for every seat on the plane. The problem is that when people arrive at the airport, often they find... no planes. The planes are simply not coming from Armenia to fetch them.

At the production and air traffic control service of the Vnukovo association, I was told: In the first 27 days of August Armenian crews carried out only 18 of the daily flight 909 and 16 of the daily flight 904 between Moscow and Yerevan. In the same time six daily Moscow-Leninakan flights failed to take place. Of all the flights

carried out in August only three (!) were on time, the others took off several hours or even days late "due to the nonarrival of the aircraft." Weather conditions and other objective factors that disrupt flight schedules are entirely beside the point, since on the same days Moscow's Il-86 planes were flying regularly to Yerevan and back. Incidentally, it is these planes that are having to carry the Vnukovo passengers who were "forgotten" by the Armenian airmen, though most of them are their fellow countrymen.

The Vnukovo air traffic control service has proposed to the Ministry of Civil Aviation that the Armenian administration's aforementioned flights be deleted from the schedule from 15 September. Why such firmness? Reports have come in that the Armenian colleagues with their Tu-154's are carrying out unplanned charter flights abroad, naturally for hard currency. Never mind about their compatriots!

Lukyanov Receives Azerbaijani President 30 Aug

LD3108194690 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
1300 GMT 31 Aug 90

[Text] USSR Supreme Soviet Chairman Lukyanov received Mutalibov, president of the Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic on 30 August. A long conversation concerning the situation which has taken shape in the region was held. Mutalibov gave a detailed report on the latest events in the border rayons of Azerbaijan and Armenia and on the republican government's approach to them.

Armenian-Azerbaijani Border Conflict Continues

Villages Depopulated by Army

NC0309120590 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian
1530 GMT 2 Sep 90

[Report by correspondent Mavr Danielyan; place and date not given: "Artsakh (Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast, NKAO), Barukh village; The Crime Is Being Repeated, the Mistakes Must Be Rectified"—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Danielyan] The highest central authorities are drawing up plans which aim at first to provoke and then to blockade, pressure, and crush the [Armenians of NKAO] at the weak points. According to these plans, the Soviet Army and the Internal Affairs Troops are fulfilling their so-called internationalist duty in the Armenian-inhabited regions in Azerbaijan. The army blockades a region, deprives it of foodstuffs, and disarms it; then it invites in the armed Azerbaijani vandals who, supervised by the army, implement the plans worked out in the center. They depopulated many regions in Azerbaijan with such plans. After that was accomplished they drew up new plans and started attacking specific points. Thus, the Soviet Internal Troops and the Azerbaijani Popular Front collaborated to depopulate Hushi-Armavir, Azat, and Kamo villages in Khanlarskiy

Rayon, and now they are destroying Getashen. Yet, in line with another plan the junta—the so-called organizational committee that was created by the decision of the USSR Supreme Soviet—has extended its claw to the Gadrutskiy Rayon in Artsakh, to Shaumyanovskiy sub-rayon, and to Stepanakert.

Now, Barukh village in Askeranskiy Rayon is yet another place where barbarities are being committed. Will it be the new Hushi-Armavir? Here are Slavik Arushanyan and Razmik Petrosyan, Armenian people's deputies from Artsakh. They have just returned from there after taking two days' leave from the session of the Armenian parliament.

[Arushanyan] Barukh village was one of the less populated villages in our region. For years it was neglected, and according to the latest population census 43 persons lived there. [Words indistinct] because the village needed to be restored, the rayon leadership took measures to build 10 houses in the village. Lacking enough resources, it asked the city construction organization to do the work. Three construction teams were working on these 10 houses. Naturally, that drew the attention of the Internal Troops of the neighboring republic. They made a number of inspections, and not finding anything, they made yet another inspection.

First, the USSR Internal Troops entered the village and inspected three (?workers) to make sure there were no weapons and armed groups [words indistinct]. Then the Azerbaijani militia and Internal Troop subunits in civilian and militia uniforms entered the village and crudely made yet another inspection, hurting the feelings of the population and workers. They detained two of the workers, took them to the car, and beat them severely. Then took them away for questioning about their activities in the village. Occupants of one of the USSR Internal Troop armored cars asked for the return of the detained workers and after some struggle the Ikarus cars were stopped and detained persons were released.

It soon became apparent that the [Azerbaijani] intruders' aim was not so much to find arms but to stop the construction work. They monstrously destroyed the [words indistinct] of the buildings which confirmed that they were mostly irritated by the construction work and that the village made an attempt to revive itself. They took measures to eradicate the village.

[Danielyan] Here is People's Deputy Razmik Petrosyan. What would you add to that, Mr. Petrosyan?

[Petrosyan] What Arushanyan said is correct. It was an organized operation by the USSR Internal Troops and Azerbaijani militia. [passage omitted] We met Commandant Ovchinnikov [acting commandant of the state of emergency region in Nagorno-Karabakh] yesterday who said that he knows nothing about it and that it was done without his knowledge. Today we met [Chairman of the Armenian Supreme Soviet] Levon Ter-Petrosyan. He phoned Ovchinnikov, who again said it was done without his knowledge. But I am sure that is a lie—this is

an organized operation by the USSR Internal Troops and Azerbaijani Internal Troops.

[Danielyan] They have given a new deadline for people to evacuate the village.

[Petrosyan] Yes, some people who had escaped from Armenia were among the Azerbaijani detachments that went there. They had put on soldiers uniforms and were working in the Azerbaijani Internal Ministry. They told the villagers that in retaliation for their expulsion from Armenia they are giving the villagers five days to evacuate the village. Otherwise they would (?return) and drive them out. [passage omitted]

NKAO Region 'Strained' Again

NC0409155490 *Baku Domestic Service in Azeri*
1730 GMT 30 Aug 90

[Text] Colonel (?Abshimitov), who has temporarily assumed the command of the state of emergency regime in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO] and adjacent rayons, made the following statement to an AZERINFORM correspondent:

The situation in Azerbaijan's NKAO region has once again become strained during the past few days. This is confirmed by the incidents in Mardakertskiy and Askeranskiy Rayons and in Stepanakert. Provoked by the extremists, the Armenians in Mardakert took the law in their hands and moved against the deputy head of operations of the Mardakertskiy Rayon Internal Affairs Department. It was necessary for the military command headquarters to intervene to avert serious consequences, calm the people, and restore law and order.

(?Two mortars with 36) shells, 40 kg of explosives, 42 field radios of various types, and two hail guns were discovered in one of the armed Armenians' secret arms depots during an operation carried out by the troops of the USSR Internal Affairs Ministry and the operations and investigation group in (?Muradchuk) town in Askeranskiy Rayon on 29 August. As was reported earlier, a group of Armenian extremists with a large quantity of arms in its possession was arrested in the same rayon some time ago.

Meanwhile, there has been an increase in instances of individual citizens' ignoring the instructions of military units on guard duty and of military servicemen coming under fire from hideouts. Such cases occurred in Stepanakert on 24 and 28 August. Moreover, a group from the USSR Internal Affairs Ministry troops was fired on in (?Chukhalu) Street at 2230 on 29 August. One military serviceman was wounded in the attack. The military units were forced to return fire. The attackers were able to escape and hide under cover of darkness. Under the circumstances, the inactive stance maintained by Mirzayan, chairman of the Stepanakert City Soviet Executive Committee; Militia Major Agazaryan, director of the Stepanakert city Internal Affairs Department; and Militia Captain (?Nugulyan), director of Stepanakert

City State Inspectorate of Vehicles, has been astonishing. They have thus far failed to fulfill the demands of the commander of the state of emergency rayon that they establish law and order without involving the troops. Meanwhile, Oganesyanyan, editor of SOVETSKAYA KARABAKH, has allowed insidious rumors to be published and is engaged in provocative activities.

A similar approach by officials in the future will be regarded as an intentional move to create a confrontation between the city residents and the forces which maintain the security of the people in the NKAO. Under the circumstances, the command headquarters is compelled to take urgent measures to maintain the state of emergency regime at the required level.

Army Role in NKAO Stated

NC0309075990 *Yerevan International Service*
in Armenian 1530 GMT 01 Sep 90

[From the republican press review]

[Text] A committee of army officers for restructuring has been established in the state of emergency region in Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO] and adjacent areas.

The committee has made the following appeal to the people of Artsakh [NKAO]: It is obvious that we have been given the ignoble role of repressing the democratic movement for self-determination of the Armenians of NKAO in favor of the chauvinistic criminal leadership of Azerbaijan and the people in the country's leadership guilty of accepting bribes. We are ashamed that the military commandant's office in the region is conducting an (?accented) anti-Armenian policy. We refer in particular to the political department of the commandant's office and Army Commandant Major General Safonov. According to our information, he has received a considerable sum from the Azerbaijani side—369,000 rubles from his Azerbaijani collaborators at the end of last year.

Instead of being a neutral force to prevent bloodshed, the military commandant's office collaborates with the representatives of the Azerbaijan leadership headed by Polyanchko. This collaboration is a state crime and discredits the army. The army is blockading the Goris-Lachin-Stepanakert road. In fact, under the guise of a blockade, NKAO is being settled by Azerbaijani immigrants. The basic political and national rights of the Armenians of NKAO are being violated.

Esteemed people of Karabakh, we are on your side and will do everything in our power to help you.

Election Campaign in Nagorno-Karabakh Suspended

LD0409172490 *Moscow Domestic Service in Russian*
1200 GMT 4 Sep 90

[Text] Azerbaijan's Supreme Soviet has adopted a decision to suspend the election campaign for electing people's deputies to the republican and local soviets on the

territories of a number of soviets in Nagorno-Karabakh. The republican parliament's decision is based on the consideration that the separatist forces in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast and their protectors outside the republic are acting from destructive positions and are initiating illegal actions. The elections are suspended until the situation normalizes.

Azerbaijani Women's Delegation Visits Moscow

Yazov Receives Council

PM3108090990 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA
in Russian 29 Aug 90 First Edition p 1

[Report by correspondent: "Meeting with Representatives of Female Public"]

[Text] On 27 August Marshal of the Soviet Union D. Yazov, member of the Presidential Council and USSR defense minister, met with a delegation from the Azerbaijan SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] women's councils.

The women, who included representatives of various nationalities, described the sociopolitical situation in the republic and the measures which are being taken with a view to consolidating the population and uniting all healthy patriotic internationalist forces in the interests of preserving and strengthening our common home—the USSR.

They imparted their alarm and anguish in connection with the constant acts of violence and piracy perpetrated by the Armenian extremists against the inhabitants of Azerbaijani population centers close to the border between the republics. "An end must be put to the bloodshed and to the death of our sons—Azerbaijanis, Armenians, Russians, and representatives of any other nationality," the women stated. They raised keenly the question of the need for the urgent disarmament and dissolution of all illegal armed formations. "We should have one army," they said. "That is our Soviet Army, which we trust and on which we pin our hopes." The women also stressed that they put the blame for the situation which has taken shape on the extremist nationalist forces operating in Armenia and not on the entire Armenian people, with whom the Azerbaijani people want to live in peace and friendship.

The defense minister answered the delegation members' numerous question. He described the life of the Armed Forces and in particular the service of the republic's envoys. The efficiency of the work which is being done in the republic to prepare young men for military service, a real result of which was the 100 percent fulfillment of the plan for the spring draft into the Army and Navy, was noted with satisfaction.

The meeting also raised questions connected with the consolidation of contacts between the female public and the command and political organs of units and with the

raising of women's role in training young men to fulfill their honorable duty of defending the socialist fatherland.

Nishanov Meets With Group

LD2908222390 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
1700 GMT 29 Aug 90

[Text] Today R. Nishanov, chairman of the Soviet of Nationalities of the USSR Supreme Soviet, and G. Revenko, member of the Presidential Council, had a meeting in Moscow with representatives of the women's public of Azerbaijan, led by Salakhova, chairperson of the Baku Women's Council. The Azerbaijani women spoke of the emergency situation that has taken shape in the region, on the borders with Armenia. They appealed for help in the search for ways of settling the conflict between the two republics, and also for the participation of the Women's Affairs and Family, Mother, and Child Protection Committee, the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, and the Soviet Women's Committee, in organizing meetings of women representatives of the Azerbaijani and Armenian women's public.

The wish was expressed for the central mass information media to give more objective coverage of the events on the borders of the republics so that the information should not lead to an explosive situation, but promote the search for ways of peacefully settling the interethnic conflicts that have been created.

Azerbaijan, Tajikistan Sign Cooperation Accord

LD3109205890 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
1430 GMT 31 Aug 90

[Text] An agreement on economic, scientific, technical, and cultural cooperation between Azerbaijan and Tajikistan was signed today in Baku. A decision has been adopted on the creation of missions of the republics in Baku and in Dushanbe. Tajikistan is the third republic, following Belorussia and Georgia, with which Azerbaijan has concluded a bilateral intergovernmental agreement.

Mutalibov Raises Cultural Workers' Wages

LD0109132490 Moscow TASS in English 1319 GMT
1 Sep 90

[By TASS correspondent Natan Barskiy]

[Text] Baku September 1 TASS—The implementation of the decree by Azerbaijan President Ayaz Mutalibov to raise wages to librarians and workers of museums, theatrical and recreational establishments, clubs and children's pre-school institutions will cost the republic 40 million rubles a year.

The decree is effective in the republic today, although pay rises for this category of workers will be enforced in the country only in 1993 as planned by the USSR Council of Ministers and the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions (AUCCTU).

Mutalibov motivated the action by a wide gap between labor remuneration of cultural workers and workers in the productive sphere. In his view, the social importance of the cultural workers' labour is disregarded in the republic.

This presidential decree is the sixth measure to raise the material status of various categories of the republic's population, issued this year.

Mutalibov, 52, who was elected president of Azerbaijan last May, previously issued the decrees to improve the wellbeing of labour veterans, soldiers who fought in Afghanistan, students, single mothers and mothers with many children and people working in high-land areas.

Azerbaijan Finance Minister Badir Karayev told TASS that funds would have to be taken from non-priority areas to implement the decree. The decree affects the living standards of at least 400,000 people.

Yerevan-Stepanakert Flights Reduced

PM0209200190 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
3 Sep 90 Second Edition p 1

[Item from PRAVDA-INTERFAX-REUTER "Streamer" feature: "Skies Also Under Control"]

[Text] The Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs] reports that it has been decided to reduce from 20 to four the number of flights from Yerevan to Stepanakert—the center of the NKAO [Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast]—with a view to restoring order in the autonomous oblast and cutting the channels for penetration by bandit formations from Armenia and for deliveries of weapons and ammunition. Security checks have been stepped up at the airport, and the passport regime is being checked.

According to MVD data, a secret base of Armenian guerrillas has been destroyed in the village of Noragyukh in the NKAO's Askeranskiy Rayon. Two homemade mortars, 36 mines, 40 kg of explosives, firearms, and up to 40 complete sets of radio transmitting devices were confiscated. In the village of Chiykend where, for the second year running, nationalists are opposing the soviet's attempts to arrange mutual understanding with Azerbaijanis, four powerful foreign-made radio broadcasting stations were confiscated as a result of an operation by the Azerbaijani forces of law and order. Flights into the village from Armenia by helicopters without identification marks have been stopped.

Political Situation in Georgia Summarized

LD0109194990 Moscow TASS in English 1521 GMT
1 Sep 90

[By TASS correspondent Igor Gvritishvili]

[Text] Moscow September 1 TASS—The last week of summer in Georgia—one of the three Transcaucasian republics—was marked by considerable activation of

political life in this region where elections to the parliament and to local authorities will be held on October 28 on a multi-party basis—the first ever in the history of the Soviet state.

The resolution on "legal guarantees of the protection of Abkhazia's statehood" and the declaration of Abkhazia's sovereignty, passed by the parliament of the autonomous republic, which is part of the Georgian Soviet Socialist Republic, sharply exacerbated relations between Georgians and Abkhazians.

Some radically-minded Georgian nationalist organisations have sought to take advantage of the situation, blocking the only railroad connecting Georgia with Russia outside the city of Sukhumi in protest against the Abkhazian parliament decision.

The prompt reaction of the Presidium of the Georgian parliament which declared unconstitutional the acts promulgated by the Abkhazian parliament helped unblock the railway and avoid considerable damage to the Georgian economy which is now in a critical situation as it is.

The republican parliament's decision compelled Abkhazian law-makers to convene an extraordinary session and rescind the earlier resolutions, although only slightly more than half the deputies took part in the vote, just as during the earlier vote in favour of these resolutions.

They also approved the proposal to create a national accord committee including representatives of all regions of Abkhazia.

The creation of this committee, according to observers, was prompted by a reaction to the recent creation of a new sociopolitical organisation—the Union of National Accord and Revival of Georgia. The committee was founded by prominent public figures and scientists headed by Soviet people's deputies [as received] Valerian Advadze.

The union aims to consolidate the Georgian people and other peoples residing in the republic with the aim of restoring Georgian statehood and achieving full political, economic and cultural sovereignty and forming and strengthening a new free, democratic republic. The union admits to membership all citizens, regardless of nationality, faith and political affiliation.

According to political observers, the new organisation can soon become very popular among Georgian voters who feel disoriented by the more than 130 newly-created political parties and organisations, who are mainly engaged in strife and often forget the genuine interests of the Georgian people.

The basic provisions of the union's programme are close to the tasks the republican Communist Party sets itself. According to Georgian Communist Party chief Givi Gumbaridze, his party seeks to consolidate all sociopolitical layers and groups of the population.

If the two organisations join forces, they are likely to win the forthcoming elections.

Georgian Parliament Elections Previewed

LD0309172190 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 1204 GMT 3 Aug 90

[Text] Tbilisi, 3 Sep (TASS)—TASS correspondent Eduard Ediberidze reports:

Twenty-nine parties have gained the right to campaign for deputies' seats in the future parliament of Georgia. Registration of them came to a close today at the central electoral commission for election of deputies to the Supreme Soviet of this republic in the Transcaucasus.

The election of the 250 deputies who will be members of the future republican parliament is being held according to a mixed majority-proportional system, Irakli Zhordaniya, chairman of the commission and corresponding member of the Georgian Academy of Sciences, explained. This means that half the deputies will be elected according to single-seat electoral constituencies, and the other half according to party lists for all Georgia on the basis of equal representation. The program of virtually all the parties envisage the restoration of Georgia's state independence. However, various ways of achieving this are proposed. Thus, the Communist Party, and the Social-Democratic and Republican-Federal parties consider it unrealistic to create a democratic, free and, law governed state of Georgia at one stroke, and assert that this should happen stage by stage. The Georgian Helsinki Union, the Ilya the Just and Merab Kostava Society [Obshchestvo Ilyi Pravdnogo i Meraba Kostava] and the Union of Georgian Traditionalists [Soyuz Gruzinskikh Traditsionalistov] insist here on more radical measures.

The key to Georgia's independence is interethnic mutual understanding, Irakli Zhordaniya emphasized. Both the radicals and the liberals recognize this today. It is not by chance that the election manifestos devote particular attention to the nationalities question. It is a topical one for Georgia, on whose territory live representatives of about 100 nationalities; about one-third of the population is non-Georgian.

New Political Group Established in Georgia

LD0109094190 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 1859 GMT 31 Aug 90

[Summary] Tbilisi, 31 Aug (TASS)—A new sociopolitical organization, the Union of National Concord and Revival of Georgia [Soyuz Natsionalnogo Soglasia i Vozrozhdeniya Gruzii], has been set up. Its chairman is Valerian Advadze, USSR people's deputy. Its aim is an independent, sovereign, and democratic Georgia. The republic has over 100 sociopolitical organizations.

Georgia Implements USSR Decree on Arms

90US1287A Tbilisi ZARYA VOSTOKA
in Russian 31 Jul 90 p 1

[GRUZINFORM report: "This Can Help Stabilize the Operational Situation"]

[Text] The Georgian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Council of Ministers examined the question on measures to ensure the implementation of the ukase of the USSR president of 25 July 1990 "On Banning the Formation of Armed Formations Not Stipulated in USSR Legislation, and the Confiscation of Arms in Cases of Their Illegal Storage." The decision notes that the operational situation in the republic has recently become extremely exacerbated and that the situation with respect to the maintenance of public order has worsened. Incidents of assault on militia employees, servicemen, offices of internal affairs organs, and military and civilian facilities for the purpose of seizing arms have become more frequent.

The illegal stashing of a large amount of arms, live ammunition, and explosives among the population creates the potential danger of the commitment of grave crimes entailing human losses. In some regions there are cases of the arbitrary creation of armed formations and the amalgamation in these formations of criminal elements and various persons of dubious character.

The leaders of the ispolkoms [executive committees] of the city and rayon soviets of people's deputies and pertinent branches of internal affairs, enterprises, and organizations are being irresponsible when they do not implement the measures stipulated by law to ensure the proper storage of arms, ammunition, and explosives. This situation promotes the creation of conditions for their seizure, aggravates tension, facilitates destabilization of the situation, and creates a threat to the population. All of this evokes the legitimate displeasure of the public, labor collectives, and the entire population, who categorically demand an immediate normalization of the situation.

The Georgian SSR Council of Ministers has ascertained that in conformity with the ukase of the USSR president of 25 July 1990, armed formations (armed large units, detachments, armed bands, subunits, and other organized armed groups) established on the territory of the Georgian SSR that are not stipulated in USSR legislation are illegal and are subject to disbandment in a 15-day period from the moment of the publication of the ukase of the USSR president; in that period arms, live ammunition, explosives, combat equipment, and any other military property must be surrendered to internal affairs organs; and the decisions and actions of any organs, organizations, officials, and citizens aimed at the preservation of previously established or the establishment of new armed formations not stipulated in USSR legislation do not have legal force and are answerable in accordance with the law.

The Georgian SSR Ministry of Internal Affairs, the Georgian SSR Committee for State Security, and their corresponding elements, jointly with local organs, are instructed in the case of noncompliance with the ukase of the USSR president in the prescribed period to ensure the confiscation of arms, live ammunition, and explosives.

The Georgian SSR Ministry of Internal Affairs and the Georgian SSR Committee for State Security jointly with the Georgian SSR Procurator General must quickly and effectively resolve questions concerning the institution of criminal proceedings in accordance with existing laws against persons who have not voluntarily surrendered arms, live ammunition, and explosives in their possession, and also against persons guilty of the illegal possession, storage, acquisition, manufacture, or sale of arms, and the concealment of this crime.

The Georgian SSR Ministry of Internal Affairs, the Georgian SSR Committee for State Security, the Councils of Ministers of the Abkhaz ASSR [Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic], the Adzharsk ASSR, the Ispolkoms of the Soviets of People's Deputies of the South Ossetia Autonomous Oblast, cities and rayons of the republic, and managers of enterprises and organizations are ordered to institute strict control in conformity with the law over enterprises, organizations, and institutions that have (or that are capable of manufacturing) arms, live ammunition, and explosives. In a two-week period, they are to provide an inventory of the indicated property in enterprises, organizations, and institutions of this type, and, moreover, to undertake measures immediately to reinforce the guards at these facilities in the prescribed procedure.

The Abkhaz ASSR and the Adzharsk ASSR Councils of Ministers, the Ispolkoms of the Soviets of People's Deputies of the South Ossetia Autonomous Oblast, and cities and rayons of the republic are charged jointly with the law enforcement organs to immediately draw up a program schedule of specific measures to intensify the fight against crime, based on the requirements of the ukase of the USSR president, and to verify their fulfillment; to require that law enforcement organs and managers of soviet and economic organizations immediately institute measures provided for by the ukase of the USSR president and legislation with respect to persons who display irresponsibility and do not adhere to the requirements of the law; and to implement preventive measures in maintaining public order and averting crime.

The mass media are ordered to ensure systematic publication of practical and analytical materials, speeches by managers of soviet, economic, and law and order organs throwing light on measures that they implement to establish public order in the republics and regions, and in enterprises and organizations, and to intensify the fight against immoral and criminal behavior and other negative manifestations.

For the purpose of increasing contacts with the mass media of the republic and to keep the people better informed, the Georgian SSR Ministry of Internal Affairs (Comrade Gorgodze) is instructed to reinforce the press center of the ministry and to man it with the necessary number of permanent elements, professional journalists, and lawyers, to ensure its practical, flexible, and effective functioning, to establish television and radio teams in the press center, and to equip them with modern television and radio equipment and transport.

It has been taken into consideration that a question is being readied on the publication of a monthly bulletin of the Georgian SSR Ministry of Internal Affairs.

For the purpose of intensifying the fight in the republic against infractions of the law, and to assist in the implementation of effective measures in the establishment of law and order and the improvement in the coordination of work of the administrative organs, a state-legal department has been established in the Administration of Affairs of the Georgian SSR Council of Ministers.

It was considered expedient to appoint members of the Georgian SSR Council of Ministers to regions of the republic for ensuring the organization and coordination of work in the localities. They are instructed to ensure the development by law enforcement and local organs of authority of a scheduled plan of effective measures and to establish control over their implementation.

For the purpose of implementing the ukase of the USSR president of 25 July 1990 "On Banning the Establishment of Armed Formations Not Stipulated in USSR Legislation, and the Confiscation of Arms in the Event of their Illegal Storage" and to ensure the coordination of the fight against crime in the republic, a republic staff has been established consisting of Comrades N.A. Chitanav, (staff supervisor), O.K. Gonadze, Sh.V. Gorgodze, T.V. Lordkipanidze, V.A. Razmadze, and V.A. Sharashenidze.

Decisions, instructions, and decrees adopted within the limits of the jurisdiction of the staff are binding on local organs of administration, ministries, departments, enterprises, institutions, organizations, and associations.

The Council of Ministers of Georgia also defined other specific measures to ensure implementation of the ukase of the USSR president of 25 July of this year.

Georgia Takes New Steps To Regain Order

90US1287B Tbilisi ZARYA VOSTOKA
in Russian 1 Aug 90 p 1

[GRUZINFORM report: "With the Aim of Getting Out of the Crisis Situation"]

[Text] The Georgian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Council of Ministers has examined the question of

switching to an intensified work schedule in the apparatuses of the Georgian SSR Council of Ministers, departments, enterprises, institutions and organizations, and local soviet organs in connection with the situation that has evolved in the republic. It notes that the sociopolitical situation in the republic has become extremely aggravated, the operational situation has become more difficult, the state of maintaining public law and order has worsened, the number of different types of grave crimes is increasing, organized crime is rising, and uncontrolled processes are developing in a number of cities and rayons and in individual enterprises. All of this results in a lowering of the effectiveness of the work of branches of the national economy and intensification of the economic crisis, which contributes to further destabilization of life, the creation of conditions for irresponsibility and permissiveness, and the breakdown of work and state discipline.

Despite the measures that have been undertaken the situation is not changing, which evokes the legitimate displeasure and earnest indignation of the population.

To get out of the crisis situation that has developed, stabilize sociopolitical life, overcome economic difficulties, ensure the normal functioning of the organs of state administration, restore tranquility among the population, and ensure the steadfast maintenance of law and order and legality, the Georgian SSR Council of Ministers has deemed it advisable to switch departments, enterprises, institutions, and organizations to an intensified work schedule and to make a radical change in the forms and methods of their operation in connection with the conditions that have evolved.

Managers of ministries, departments, enterprises, institutions, and organizations, and organs of local soviets of the Georgian SSR are charged with the personal responsibility of establishing 24-hour duty in their apparatuses, creating operational work groups for the collection and processing of full and exhaustive information on the existing situation, and adopting appropriate measures and their compulsory implementation in the localities.

Work groups have been established in the Georgian SSR Council of Ministers: organizations for work on the maintenance and reinforcement of law and order and legality, organizations for the uninterrupted supply of petroleum products and electric power to the national economy and the population, organizations for the smooth functioning of transport, organizations for harvesting crops without losses, organizations for the effective work of branches of industry, organizations for improving the work of construction complexes, organizations for regulating the financial situation in the national economy, organizations for the uninterrupted supply of food to the population, organizations for the regulation and the timely elimination of the aftereffects resulting from ecological and natural disasters in an emergency situation, organizations of the work of local

soviet organs, and organizations for systematically keeping the population informed about the developing situation.

The work groups have been instructed to effectively and quickly analyze information reflecting the evolving situation and to prepare the necessary proposals and decisions for relieving the sociopolitical situation and for improving the economic situation, and to verify the implementation of measures that have been developed.

Georgia, Azerbaijan Strengthen Cooperation Ties

LD0209192590 Tbilisi ZARYA VOSTOKA
in Russian 16 Aug 90 p 1

[GRUZINFORM-attributed report: "Georgia-Azerbaijan: Developing and Deepening Cooperation"]

[Text] A.N. Mutalibov, president of the Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] and first secretary of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee, and G.A. Gasanov, chairman of the Azerbaijan SSR Council of Ministers, arrived in the Georgian capital on 15 August for a working visit.

The guests were met at Tbilisi airport, where the state flags of the Azerbaijan SSR and Georgian SSR were flying, by G.G. Gumbaridze, chairman of the Georgian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and first secretary of the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee, and N.A. Chitanava, chairman of the Georgian SSR Council of Ministers, and other leaders of the republic.

There was businesslike and constructive discussion of the whole range of topical issues of bilateral relations between the republics. Specific proposals for further developing and deepening direct political, economic, and cultural reciprocal links between Georgia and Azerbaijan were discussed. The leaders of both republics stressed the urgent need to give a new quality to traditional good-neighborly relations between the Georgian and Azerbaijani peoples. They also stressed the importance of achieving mutual understanding and expanding cooperation in the name of peace and national accord in the region.

Documents on the basic directions for developing and strengthening reciprocal ties between Georgia and Azerbaijan were signed as a result of the talks.

Here is what the leaders of the two republics had to say about the meeting in an interview with a GRUZINFORM correspondent:

[Mutalibov] We think that an important step has been taken along the road to giving real substance to longstanding traditional ties between our republics and peoples. As is well known direct ties between republics form the basis for the future relations which are currently being much talked about. We have taken a practical step. I think that it is an all-embracing one. The talks which were held today made a big impression on me. I am

convinced that they will serve to develop [word indistinct] comprehensive socioeconomic relations.

[Gumbaridze] I agree with what our guest has just said. It was a businesslike working meeting which at the same time expressed our common aspiration to deepen our experience by truly concrete, effective, and forward-looking mutual relations in all areas of political and particularly economic life.

I must say that I am happy with the work done in such a short period. This will be the start of mutual ties on a new basis. I am sure that they will develop energetically.

The guests from Azerbaijan toured the Georgian capital and saw the sights of the town. They visited the "Tbil-moloko" production association and the Metekhi Hotel, which is under construction. They visited the Palace of Solemn Rituals and met and talked to Azerbaijanis living in Tbilisi in a square in the old part of the town.

The Azerbaijan SSR leaders left Tbilisi on the same day.

Further developing mutual contacts and deepening production and economic ties and making widespread use of accumulated frontranking experience of managing the national economy are among important factors in strengthening the sovereign rights of Union republics and in their successful socioeconomic development. Pursuing a policy toward practical implementation of tasks connected with deepening political and economic reforms, the Councils of Ministers of the Azerbaijan SSR and Georgian SSR signed an agreement on basic directions for developing and deepening mutual ties between the two sovereign republics on 15 August 1990.

Maintaining a policy of further democratizing society and enhancing the role of Soviets of People's Deputies, transforming the tasks and functions of state economic bodies and improving style and methods of work the Council of Ministers of the Azerbaijan and Georgian SSRs noted the need to implement measures to set up comprehensive business contacts and deepen and develop mutual cooperation and give a new quality to traditional friendly ties as well as to speed up the resolution of pressing problems in both republics.

In the economic sphere the agreement envisages achieving a qualitatively new level in mutually advantageous contacts in branches of the republics' national economy. In order to realize these aims it is planned to create joint enterprises and joint-stock companies and associations, hold interrepublican fairs and exhibitions and use other forms of economic reform. The efforts of republican scientific, planning, design and technological organizations, branches of the national economy and higher education will be channelled into resolving these tasks.

Close cooperation and interaction are envisaged in the sphere of relations between the nationalities. In connection with this, note is taken of the need for close

interaction between cultural institutions, publishing houses, and the mass media in satisfying the national-cultural requirements of all nations and ethnic groups living in the region. Additional measures promoting cooperation in instructing the younger generation in their national languages will be elaborated.

As regards environmental protection and improving the ecological and hygiene situation in the region, the sides envisage formulating and implementing comprehensive measures to renew installations which are unsatisfactory in ecological and hygiene terms and to implement other joint nature protection measures.

In order to ensure coordination and cooperation between the republics in the practical implementation of the measures, it was deemed expedient to set up a coordinating council consisting of an equal number of representatives appointed by the governments of both republics. The council will ensure the coordination of general directions of economic, scientific, and technical and cultural policy. It will handle issues which touch upon the interests of the republics, formulate joint decisions concerning them and observe their fulfillment.

The governments of both republics decided to set up permanent missions of the republics' Councils of Ministers in the cities of Baku and Tbilisi.

New Georgian Paper Covers Wide Range of Themes

LD0209145790 Tbilisi ZARYA VOSTOKA
in Russian 17 Aug 90 p 3

[Summary] The first issue of "VESTNIK ASSOTSII-ATSII 'NATSIONALNOYE SOGLASIYE'" ["National Accord" Association Herald] has gone on sale in Tbilisi. It covers a wide range of Georgian themes. In a message to readers the paper promises to make its columns open to all public and political organizations.

Central Asia

Weapons Handed In, Confiscated in Osh Oblast

LD0409230390 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
2130 GMT 4 Sep 90

[Report from the USSR Internal Ministry Press Center]

[Text] In the towns and rayons of Osh Oblast in Kirghizia, measures are being implemented to normalize the sociopolitical situation. In Uzgenskiy Rayon, work is going on to settle inhabitants of Kirghiz nationality in the town center. Since the start of the events, 149 families have returned.

Over the past four days, 51 firearms have been confiscated from the population in the oblast or have been handed in voluntarily.

The situation is being monitored.

Kirghiz Land Bill Promotes Private Farms

LD0509075190 Moscow TASS in English 0743 GMT
5 Sep 90

[By TASS correspondent Boris Mayinayev]

[Text] Frunze September 5 TASS—Any Kirghiz farmer will be able to lease or own and bequeath land, under the terms of a bill on family farms published for public discussion in this Soviet Central Asian republic today.

Kirghizia is a predominantly agricultural republic, with 60 percent of its 4 million inhabitants employed in farming. The republic boasts some 10 million head of sheep and more than 1 million head of cattle.

Since 80 percent of the territory is occupied by mountains, lakes and rivers, land is naturally a most treasured asset.

The draft allows farmers to quit collective farms [kolkhozes] and state farms [sovkhozes], in which case they will be provided with a plot of land of their own as well as a share of the farm property, in kind or money.

Local observers believe that the bill meets the aspirations of Kirghiz farmers and will lay a firm foundation for a market as well as strengthen the positions of the present republican government.

Tajik Supreme Soviet's Decisions Outlined

PM0509085190 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
1 Sep 90 First Edition p 3

[L. Makhkamov dispatch under the "Yesterday, Today, Tomorrow" rubric: "A Step Into the Future"]

[Text] The second session of the Tajik Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Supreme Soviet, whose aktiv has taken important decisions of a political, administrative, and economic nature, has continued for eight days. At the top of the list was the Declaration on Tajik SSR State Sovereignty, and laws on ownership in the Tajik SSR, on leasing, on local self-government, on the local economy, and on the republic's land code were examined and given a first reading. A constitutional oversight committee was created.

The future of the republic people's control committee remained unresolved, although many deputies insisted that it be abolished. In all probability, the final decision will be adopted at the next session.

A special Supreme Soviet commission presented to the session its conclusions about the February events in Dushanbe. Naturally, they do not provide a complete picture of what happened, since the preliminary investigation into the reasons, nature, and tragic consequences of these disturbances has not yet been concluded.

The republic's priority measures connected with switching the economy to market relations were outlined at the session.

Tajik Komsomol First Secretary Dismissed

LD0409084990 Dushanbe Domestic Service in Tajik
0000 GMT 4 Sep 90

[Excerpts] The 13th plenum of the Tajik Komsomol [All-Union Leninist Communist Youth League] Central Committee was held on 3 September.

An organizational question was examined. Yakuybov was relieved of his duty as first secretary and of his membership of the Bureau of the Tajik Komsomol Central Committee in connection with his transfer to party work. [passage omitted] Kurbanov Nurali Khaydarovich was elected first secretary of the Tajik Komsomol Central Committee. [passage omitted]

Tajik SSR Replaces Women's Affairs Official

LD0409095990 Dushanbe Domestic Service in Tajik
0000 GMT 4 Sep 90

[Supreme Soviet of the Tajik Soviet Socialist Republic Decree]

[Text] 1. Mamlakat Abdulakhadovna Kakharova, people's deputy of the Tajik Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR], is relieved at her request of her duties as chairman of the Tajik SSR Supreme Soviet Committee for Women's Affairs, Family and Children.

2. Mukhabbat Safaraliyevna Abdurakhmanova will be elected chairman of the Committee for Women's Affairs, Family and Children.

[Signed] Makhkamov, chairman of the Tajik SSR Supreme Soviet.

Tajikistan Supreme Court Conducts Espionage Trial

LD0409164290 Moscow TASS in English 1630 GMT
4 Sep 90

[Text] Dushanbe September 4 TASS—The State Security Committee of Tajikistan arrested foreign intelligence agent Amirmamad Mamad-Ogly, a citizen of Afghanistan. The republic's Supreme Court sentenced the man to five years in prison.

During the pre-trial investigation, the defendant's criminal activities on Tajikistan territory were fully exposed and proved. On orders from the Pakistani military intelligence service, Mamad-Ogly crossed the Soviet-Afghan border nine times during the past two years.

He established contacts with an anti-Soviet underground organization on Tajikistan territory, supplied it with literature containing calls to topple the state system in the republic and create on its territory an Islamic state free of "infidels."

When arresting the foreign agent, security forces seized a handgun with ammunition, nearly twenty hand grenades, other weapons and a large number of "subversive" publications.

"This is not an isolated incident of foreign secret services sending their agents to the republic," Tajikistan KGB Chief V. Petkel told TASS.

The Tajikistan Supreme Court recently tried and convicted local resident A. Davlyatov, charged with spying for Pakistani intelligence services. State security forces detained four Afghan rebels, members of one of Afghanistan's antigovernment groups.

According to the KGB chief, subversive activities by foreign secret services in the Tajik sector of the Soviet border were stepped up after the February unrest in the republic, which claimed many lives and fostered demands to create an Islamic republic.

According to the defendant, the intelligence leaders were backed by forces that still hope to destabilize the social and political situation in Tajikistan. The foreign secret agent spoke about the republic's anti-Soviet underground movement.

The KGB chief confirmed his statement and noted that republican security and law enforcement agencies have all means at their disposal to protect the constitutional system and citizen's rights.

Reasons for Uzbek Gasoline Shortage Detailed

*PM0409095990 Moscow Television Service in Russian
1430 GMT 30 Aug 90*

[Report by Mukhtar Ganiyev from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer] Another item about gasoline. We recently discussed the fuel problem in Tajikistan, where it was stated that the republic was not receiving petroleum products from Uzbekistan. Now an alarming story from Uzbekistan. Our correspondent Mukhtar Ganiyev reports.

[Ganiyev] Disruption to gasoline supplies in the republic started about six weeks ago. Different rumors have been making the rounds of the towns and villages, claiming that, owing to the crisis in the Near East, oil sales to foreign countries had been increased and a gasoline price hike was in the offing. And that the market economy would start with a revision of the price of petroleum products. Car owners are panicking. They are hoarding any grade of gasoline in canisters, and proceedings at free-market filling stations can sometimes degenerate into fisticuffs. A liter of gas costs a ruble on the black market. Here is what is happening at state gas stations. There are huge lines waiting for gas that doesn't exist. People have to wait many hours. Drivers may simply spend the night here. You will note that even official cars are having to wait. It must be said that the republic does have oil-refining capacity, but oil is not reaching it and

deliveries to neighboring Tajikistan are not being carried out. So just what has happened to the supplies? All republics have services and state committees, and oil extraction has not been reduced.

[V.I. Dovidenko, first deputy chairman of the Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republic State Committee for the Supply of Petroleum Products] What are the main reasons? First of all, approximately 60 percent of the gasoline imported into the republic comes from Kazakhstan. Judge for yourselves, in the July-August period the shortfall in supplies was about 60,000 tonnes. We estimated that the Chardzhou works would go into operation and we were to receive more than 40,000 tonnes in the third quarter. We have not received a single drop. The plant has not gone into operation and evidently will not go into operation this year.

If people in Azerbaijan can hear me now, we ask Baku to fulfill its obligations to Turkmenia, and then Turkmenia will be able to supply us the quantity of gasoline stipulated by the USSR State Committee for Material and Technical Supply.

Illegal Drugs Cultivation Increasing in Uzbekistan

*PM0509090290 Moscow Television Service in Russian
1700 GMT 31 Aug 90*

[Report by Sh. Ganiyeva from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer] Alarming news from the Uzbek Ministry of Internal Affairs.

[Ganiyeva] Republican Internal Affairs organs have exposed hundreds of crimes connected with drug production and drug abuse during the first six months of this year alone. The reasons for this sharp increase in the spread of drugs on the territory of Uzbekistan are many. Let me recall that a substantial raw material base for the production of drugs has always existed here. However, this year the number of sowings of black poppies and cannabis has increased 150 percent, and their area has increased ninefold. Most of these sowings are located in the south of the republic in inaccessible mountain areas on state land for which no one in particular is responsible.

And the militia's lack of technical facilities and specialized equipment for discovering and destroying such sowings unquestionably serves to strengthen the view that the law enforcement organs are powerless. A consequence of this is the involvement of large numbers of people in the drug business.

Allow me to add that there are more than 11,000 registered drug addicts in Uzbekistan, including several hundred minors. And although drug addiction here has not yet assumed threatening proportions, this problem calls for close public attention right now.